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SOVIETS FIND ROAD TO MIDDLE EAST THROUGH LEBANON

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 391, 18 Aug 84 pp 22-24

[Article by Ghassan Bayram: "Soviets Are Coming; Lebanese-Soviet Relations Is Not So Much an Issue of the Bazaar and of the Exchange of Weapons for Political Positions As It is Issue Reflecting New Climate Paving Way for Soviets' Return to Middle East"]

[Text] The period during which ex-Lebanese President Ilyas Sarkis assumed power abounded with numerous given facts which obstructed the progress of the Lebanese-Syrian relationship and paralyzed numerous effective features of this relationship as a result of circumstances and developments that often generated thick clouds in the atmosphere of this relationship, either because of Syria's suspicions concerning the Lebanese administration's intentions or because of Lebanese complaints about the lack of Syrian commitment to give the Lebanese problem and to put this problem on the path of solution. Therefore, the Lebanese-Syrian relationship started at the beginning of ex-President Sarkis' administration like "honey and fat," as the popular saying goes, and culminated at the end of his administration in an undesirable form.

What distinguishes President Amin al-Jumayyil's administration from his predecessor's administration is that the twin-like relationship between the two countries, though afflicted at the outset by severe tremors as a result of the 17 May accord, quickly regained its health and settled down all at once and that it is now in the best condition. The Lebanese president is totally satisfied with and reassured by the course of these relations and Syria, on its part, continues to fulfill all its commitments to bolstering the peaceful solution process and to helping President al-Jumayyil's administration overcome numerous obstacles impeding its way.

There is, in the view of the Lebanese, absolutely no justification for any position or act likely to muddy this calm relationship or to paralyze its effectiveness, especially since the Syrian aid for Lebanon in this phase may perhaps be the sole source of salvation to rescue Lebanon and free it of its tribulation.

Prominent Lebanese officials acknowledge that Syria is providing with every passing day more proof of its sincere intentions of support and aid, perhaps even more strongly than had been expected of it under these complex

international and regional circumstances. In his latest interview with the French LE MONDE, President Hafiz al-Asad stressed an important and sensitive point concerning Lebanon and the future of its crisis, namely the demand that the Lebanese crisis be separated from the Middle East crisis and isolated from the complications of the evolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In the course of his insistence on this position, President al-Asad stressed that it is time for Lebanon to regain its tranquillity and stability and not to continue to pay the cost of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

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It was very important that the Syrian president make these statements and abide by this position, especially before the tour of Vladimir Polyakov, the head of the Middle East Section of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a number of Arab capitals. In this tour, Polyakov made his first stop in Lebanon where he held talks with high-ranking officials on the crux of the Lebanese problem, on the means to find solutions for it and on the assisting Soviet role in all this at more than one level and in more than one sphere.

No superpower such as the Soviet Union has previously devoted as much direct attention to the Lebanese situation since independence as the Soviet Union is trying to devote now. The arrival in Beirut of a high-ranking official of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs who possesses all the information on Middle East affairs and who, moreover, is the man with the viewpoint on these affairs has its important indications, whether for a small country such as Lebanon which has been torn apart by a 10-year war or for a superpower such as the Soviet Union which is trying with firm steps to regain fundamental and important positions on the Middle East map.

The battle to drop the Lebanese-Israeli accord, which was formulated under the patronage and supervision of the United States, and all the complications that accompanied this battle amounted ultimately to nothing other than a big and fundamental round in the war being waged by the Soviets to return to the Middle East as a partner that has all the rights that the United States has, if not more--not to mention the Soviet dream which, since the days of Tzarist Russia, has been to reach the warm waters to insure control over this vital area which is located on the borders of the republics of the Soviet Union.

So that matters may remain within their reasonable natural framework, Lebanon is not ultimately a strategic objective of the Soviet Union. That is what the Soviets have said on numerous occasions. Measured by this viewpoint, Moscow won a round, not a war, in the battle to drop the 17 May accord, which ended with the departure of the Marines, along with other NATO forces, from Beirut. But winning this round was vital and necessary for Moscow on the path of the other, and more important, victory, namely dropping the U.S. plan or the so-called Reagan initiative in Jordan when it became impossible for the Jordanian monarch to declare agreement with Yasir 'Arafat.

So what is the purpose of the unprecedented Soviet interest in Lebanon? Why are the Soviets displaying their eagerness to give the issue of Lebanon a distinguishing characteristic?

To answer these questions, we must return to the beginning of fundamental issues, which can be summed up in the following:

First, the current Soviet interest in Lebanon comes on the debris of a U.S. role which collapsed when the 17 May accord was dropped. Here, Moscow can tell Washington that it is capable of being present anywhere and that it is present even in a position that is considered an area of U.S. influence. Moscow can also tell Lebanon that it is the side which can help Lebanon put an end to the wars on its territories and guarantee the restoration of its security and unity. The Soviets have said openly in the well-studied communique published by NOVOSTI that they are the guarantors of Lebanon's independence and security, not the Americans who have caused Lebanon's destruction and robbery.

Second, in the context of the collapse of U.S. credibility in Lebanon, the Soviet Union has a strategic interest in demonstrating its credibility, not just for Lebanon but also for the area's countries, to show that it is loyal to its friends and commitments, unlike the United States which is committed to defending Israel's expansionist schemes.

Third, if we consider the situation in Lebanon a part of the picture that defines the features of the Middle East's reality and, consequently, a part of what is reality may become in the future, then the Soviet Union has a major interest in extending a helping hand to Lebanon in all possible spheres so that Lebanon may not repeat the experience of getting involved with a U.S. game like the one that has taken place recently and that ended as it has ended [17 May accord], especially since more than one Lebanese personality has visited Moscow and heard Soviet words to the effect that the Americans have not completely abandoned the idea of a return to Lebanon, even if with a new role, after their presidential elections--a role constituting a starting point for engaging in the game of partial solutions to the area's crisis.

The high-ranking Soviet official's visit to Lebanon has come in the wake of two Soviet initiatives: the first concerning Lebanon and the second concerning the Middle East crisis. Both initiatives give the visit an important dimension and both were the focus of the important official talks which Polyakov held with the prominent officials in the government and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The first initiative, carrying for Lebanon a frank Soviet call of a new kind urging Lebanon to shed the old robe and to end its conventional bond with the so-called Free World, as the Soviet NOVOSTI Agency put it, which has brought Lebanon nothing but plots and troubles. The initiative also expresses frankly the Soviet Union's full readiness to rearm and equip the Lebanese army.

This Soviet offer, with both its political-military and economic parts, can be interpreted in two ways. As it is possible to say that it is a call for

changing the Lebanese system, it can also be said that it is only a call for Lebanon to rid itself of the complex of its relationship with the West's capitalist countries and to open up broader political and economic relations with the Eastern camp.

The second initiative pertains to the renewed call for an international conference for peace between the Arabs and Israel in the Middle East. The Soviet Union wants comprehensive Arab support for the call for this conference because it is the formula which insures recognition of the role of the Soviet partnership in reaching a formula for the Middle East crisis and, consequently, because comprehensive Arab support for the conference means dropping the other U.S. formulas which are founded on the principle of formulating independent settlements for the area's crises in isolation from the Soviets and through bilateral negotiations so as to complete the Camp David formula and policies.

The Soviet official in charge of Middle East affairs found noticeable openness on the part of prominent Lebanese officials in discussing all the means to strengthen and bolster Lebanese-Soviet relations in all ways, with the Lebanese officials thus reaffirming the determination of Lebanon's foreign policy to abide by nonalignment and to reject all forms of international axes and, consequently, reaffirming that this policy has always been a Lebanese option because it is the policy that serves Lebanon's interests and its international relations as much as it safeguards the Lebanese internal situation against internal conflicts and because this option is compatible and harmonious with Lebanon's political and social internal makeup [tarkibah].

Because it is so, the Soviet official was told that Lebanon had already declared its support for the Soviet initiative calling for an international peace conference and that it still holds to its position because it sees no means for ending the Middle East problem other than full understanding between the major powers, particularly between the Americans and the Soviets, within the framework of an international conference attended by all the parties concerned.

It was important that the Soviet official hear united words in this regard from the president of Lebanon and its prime minister, especially the statement that the criterion of sincere commitment to help Lebanon be demonstrated in this period by sincere efforts to separate Lebanon's problem from the Middle East crisis and to isolate the Lebanese situation from the influence and complications of the problem of the area surrounding Lebanon.

The Lebanese side asked the Soviet official for a Soviet position supporting this demand and exerting actual efforts to achieve it through numerous international and regional means and methods.

It is certain that in following up on this issue, Lebanon will ask Syria anew to demonstrate a firmer position in efforts to find a settlement that separates the Lebanese problem from the Middle East crisis and, consequently, to exert whatever influence it has on the Soviet leadership to obtain from it a clearer and more serious position supporting this demand and expressing readiness to proceed with it.

Despite the promise given by Polyakov to study this Lebanese demand and to examine the means to exert efforts to achieve it, the general impression among the Lebanese officials does not encourage the belief or certainty that Moscow will possibly adopt the demand. There are old reasons and some new ones that make the Lebanese officials believe this. These reasons include, according to a prominent political official, the fact that Moscow is ultimately interested in the area, in its role in the area and in determining the area's affairs and future because Moscow has strategic objectives and because ultimately Lebanon is not a strategic objective. This is why Moscow's approval to disengage the Lebanese situation from the area's crisis seems impossible, except within the framework of a general conception for a comprehensive settlement that puts an end to the area's crisis of conflict through an international conference.

There have been several indications of this Soviet position, including the Soviet veto in the UN Security Council over increasing the number of UN forces operating in South Lebanon and increasing their powers so that they may be granted the power of deterrence. The indications also include the well-known Soviet position of confronting the slogan raised by the United States, which is considered a U.S. demand, for separating the Lebanese problem from the area's crisis because this U.S. call was projected from a U.S. perspective and according to the U.S. conception of how to achieve peace between the Arabs and Israel.

Today, in the context of new facts dominating the Lebanese situation and in the wake of the Soviet readiness to help Lebanon and to achieve peace in it, Prime Minister Rashid Karami's cabinet believes that one of its most important missions is to follow up on this issue of separation, either with the Soviets directly or through Syria and, on the other hand, with the United States, in the hope that the previous position on this issue and what the Soviet position may turn into will help to achieve a formula to separate the Lebanese issue from the area's crisis as a basic step toward achieving lasting peace in Lebanon and withdrawing the Lebanese card from the stack of numerous cards of pressure with which the conflicting Middle East forces alternately play.

Today, the Soviet Union, by trying to tempt Lebanon with some offers so that it may ultimately become one of the customers of the Soviet peace, is trying to make Lebanon learn a lesson from the Kuwaiti example and from the Jordanian example--a lesson that is no longer permissible for Lebanon to continue to cling to its Westernism or to the Western armament system because it cannot be more conservative than the two Arab countries of Jordan and Kuwait.

In any case, Lebanese officials made it clear to the Soviet visitor that Lebanon has no objection to following Jordan's and Kuwait's example and perhaps the example of other Arab countries that are more conservative than itself and that Lebanon's Prime Minister Rashid Karami may respond to the invitation to visit Moscow and to top the list of his discussions with the Soviet leaders with the issue of equipping the Lebanese army with heavy Soviet weapons, such as artillery and tanks and perhaps missiles. However, Lebanon's problem is not the lack of arms because Lebanon is suffering from

a glut in arms, both legal and illegal. Lebanon's problem lies in how to bring it out of its tribulation and help it with solutions on which the influential forces in the area, both big and small, agree.

The Lebanese officials did not find it difficult to address the head of the Middle East Section of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs with this logic because a stable Lebanon enjoying peace can take more effective positions in supporting the holding of a peace conference for the Middle East. Moreover, the presence in Lebanon of a strong state capable of reuniting its army enables such a state to discuss rearming and re-equipping this army with weapons of various types, contrary to the present situation under which the army is still suffering from the ramifications of the political and sectarian divisions.

In any case and regardless of all these details, well-informed observers say that one issue of the Lebanese-Soviet relations is not so much an issue of the bazaar and of an exchange of positions for arms or something else as much as it is an issue reflecting a new development in whose early beginnings the area is living, namely the Soviet return to the Arab East and Middle East.

Those who think along the lines of this logic make a distinction between Lebanon becoming, insofar as the Soviet role is concerned, one of the gates to the area and its becoming "Soviet" in its foreign tendencies and policies.

If those who think in this manner find the first possibility somewhat likely, they totally exclude the logic of Lebanon's entry into the Soviet sphere finally, regardless of whether it buys Soviet weapons or more than just Soviet weapons. They find this unlikely for many reasons, including the fact that when the Soviets were in the 1960's and the early 1970's the side with the strongest influence in the Arab area, Lebanon remained Western in identity and American in inclination. It is also impossible and unreasonable for Lebanon to become pro-Soviet at a time when U.S. influence prevails in the Arab area. This is perhaps a constant fact that is not so much created by a Lebanese or Arab ruler as it is the outcome of the nature of the structure and system of Lebanon and of its society. These reasons also include the fact that the latest experience of the U.S. role in Lebanon has provided the obvious proof that it is impossible to attach Lebanon to this or that camp and impossible for Lebanon to become a part of the game of the regional or international axes. Despite the nature of its structure, Lebanon cannot be another Cuba as much as it cannot be another Taiwan.

The experiences of modern history tell us that one of the slogans of the late Lebanese leader Riyad al-Sulh was the slogan "Lebanon is neither an abode nor a path." It has become evident that it is possible to apply the first part of this slogan. As for the second part, its application is still pending.

8494

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SIGNIFICANCE OF EFFORTS TO INCREASE ARMS EXPORTS

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 67, 21 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Fu'ad Matar: "The Field Marshal's Vigor"]

[Text] Considering the difficulties facing the Arab political situation and the gloomy relationships between most Arab states, Egypt has taken, through its military establishment, two noteworthy steps which demand a great deal of attention from anyone observing developments in Egypt.

The first step was marked by an official announcement on 3 July 1984 which stated that the Egyptian Armed Forces had begun implementation of the plan set forth by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and War Production Field Marshal Abd-al-Halim Abu Ghazalah. The plan involves setting up a "City of Scientists" in order to shift Egypt from a technology-importing phase to a technology-producing one and to proceed with this development in order to keep up with the times.

According to the information available on this "City," it appears that it will occupy about one-quarter of a million square meters of land and will consist of several "scientific areas," each costing approximately 10 million Egyptian pounds, not including the cost of scientific equipment and systems. Each area will employ Egypt's finest military and civilian scientists who will work together to serve the strategic goals of Egypt and of its Armed Forces.

The second step was marked by a statement made by Field Marshal Abu-Chazalah during a speech he gave on Thursday, 13 July 1984 on the occasion of "Air Defense Day." He stated that Egypt will be "ahead of many countries which have advanced in the field of arms manufacturing and exports after having achieved a great deal of progress in this area; and naturally, when we begin to produce sophisticated arms, we will not consider exporting them to Europe but will direct our exports primarily to the area that needs them the most, i.e., the countries of the Middle East."

In regard to these two steps, the following may be observed:

First, they create the impression that Egypt will focus on military industrialization in order to develop its arms trade, which has become one of its distinguishing marks following the Camp David accords.

One can also assume that, given these two complimentary steps, Egypt appears to be saying to its Arab brothers that they can fight with Egypt's weapons but they cannot rely on the help of its army. In other words, they may obtain weapons from Egypt and at a price. However, Egypt's army will be unable to participate because of the Camp David accords. This is due to the fact that Egypt has no desire to become involved in any wars from now on. Furthermore, its relationship with the Arab states will probably be one of one party providing another with needed arms. This is, in fact, what many countries are doing without undue embarrassment of any sort.

Second, the "City of Scientists" envisioned by Field Marshal Abu Ghazalah will eventually become a city for the development of arms manufacturing, or at least that is what opinions prevalent in certain circles as well as available information seem to indicate. On the basis of this premise, one can assume that the information which was available to Field Marshal Abu Ghazalah during the period he served as military attache in Washington and following his appointment as minister of defense and war production all seems to indicate that the area is about to witness further disputes which will be followed by clashes, and which will then be followed by war. For this reason arms manufacturing can be useful in that it would enable Egypt to gain large amounts of hard currency which it is in dire need of. One can further assume that the current Iraq-Iran war, which may spread and which may involve other parties, is a matter which further serves to whet the appetite of those interested in the development of arms production.

It is worth mentioning, in this context, that the declaration of the two steps which are linked to Field Marshal Abu Ghazalah and his ambitions coincided with Kuwait's swift, arduous effort to obtain arms from the United States, after which it became necessary for Kuwaiti officials to turn to the Soviet Union in order to obtain some of what they were unable to get from the Americans, who are supposedly friends of Kuwait.

Had the Egyptian plans for arms manufacturing been in effect under those circumstances, Egypt would have immediately offered arms to Kuwait and perhaps would have been able to sell whatever it wished to sell. It is very likely that those in Egypt who are behind the idea of marketing arms are taking this situation and many others into consideration.

Third, military industrialization is not new to Egypt. What is new is that the past experiment with industrialization was modest. Furthermore, it had taken place at a time when Egypt and Israel were at war. This second attempt at industrialization, which is an ambitious one, is taking place after a peace settlement has been signed between Egypt and Israel. As a result of that agreement, any materials useful in the development of arms manufacturing which Egypt had been unable to obtain at one time from international sources because it was hostile to Israel, have now been obtained or can now be easily acquired. Hence, it can be said that what is impossible in times of war is easily accomplished in times of peace.

Egypt's plans to trade in arms may be based on the fact that special treatment would be given to those parties in need of arms, particularly those who have

suffered from their dealings in the black market. Egypt itself had in the past also suffered from its dealings in the black market, a fact which has undoubtedly taught it how to deal with the matter more efficiently.

Two matters remain:

The first is that the entry of Egypt into the "arms manufacturing and trading club" will transform the country into one which will deal with other nations according to entirely new concepts which do not take into consideration friendships and alliances.

The second is that Egypt's success in the field of arms manufacturing will burden the country with a pan-Arab obligation, and it will oblige it out of necessity to play a pan-Arab role.

Regardless of any explanations and interpretations, and there are many, with respect to the "City of Scientists" and the manufacture and export of arms, we admire the vigor of Field Marshal Abu Ghazalah and are pleased to see a country like Egypt follow the path of serious scientific development in the field of arms production.

With this satisfaction, however, comes a great deal of concern that the "City of Scientists" may one day face what took place at the Nuclear Reactor site in Iraq simply because it would have transformed Iraq from an average country into a developed one.

12714

CSO: 4504/386

NEW LAW REGARDING COUNCIL OF STATE ISSUED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 25 Jul 84 pp 1, 10

[Article: "President Amends Law Concerning Council of State"]

[Text] Yesterday, President Husni Mubarak issued a decree amending some of the provisions of the law of the Council of State. This new decree stipulates that the Council of State be considered an independent judicial body whose members cannot be dismissed and who would be granted all the immunities extended to those in the judiciary. It also stipulates that the committee from which the disciplinary board is formed is the party in charge of any matter pertaining to this issue.

The amendment also calls for the establishment of a special council for administrative matters within the Council of State to be headed by the president of the Council of State and to include six of his senior vice presidents. The special council will specialize in studying the appointment of members to the Council of State and will determine their seniorities, promotions, transfers, assignments, and rotations. It will also handle their complaints regarding such matters as well as any issues pertaining to them.

The amendment also stipulates that the opinion of the special council be taken into consideration in regard to actions concerning any laws pertaining to the Council of State.

The amendment further stipulates that the president of the Council of State be appointed by the president of the republic and be selected from among the vice presidents of the Council of State after consulting the opinion of a special general assembly consisting of the president of the Council of State, his deputies, authorized representatives, and justices who have occupied that position for a period of 2 years. It also stipulates that the vice presidents of the council as well as the council's authorized representatives be appointed by the president of the republic following the approval of the council's general assembly. As for the appointment of the remaining members and assistant representatives, this will be achieved through a decision by the president of the republic following the approval of the special council for administrative matters. The law stipulates as well that no one under the age of 38 may be appointed as a justice and that no one under the age of 30 may be appointed as a member in the Administrative and Disciplinary Courts.

Should any of the judicial circuits of the higher administrative court note that past contradictory statutes had been issued or should it determine that a prior judicial decision should be amended, it must appeal to a committee formed by the general assembly of the court during every judicial year. This committee should consist of 11 justices headed by the president of the court or the oldest from among his deputies on the condition that its rulings be issued with a majority of at least seven votes.

12714

CSO: 4504/386

MINISTRY OF MANPOWER PLACES NEW GRADUATES

Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic 15, 22 Sep 84

[Article by Muhammad al-Sharayidi: "Employees...Or Hidden unemployment?"]

[15 Sep 84 p 3]

[Excerpts] The problem of placing new graduates among the state sectors is a chronic problem which began with the application of the system of appointing all graduates through the Ministry of Manpower. It has begun to appear along with the willingness to appoint 123,000 new employees, who will be added to the ranks of the army of state employees during the next few days.

The problem is difficult and raises its head at least every year. It causes many other problems from which the state suffers and represents one of its most difficult economic and social problems. We must find an appropriate solution to this problem as soon as possible, before it is too late.

The Supreme Policy Committee will discuss at its next meeting the methods of placing the graduates of universities, higher institutes and secondary technical and vocational schools in various jobs in all sectors of the state.

The meeting will be the beginning of a positive turning point in the method of placing graduates, in order to derive benefit from their energies but decrease the hidden unemployment, for the good of the nation and the citizenry!

The indicators of placing the new university graduates from the classes of 1981 and January 1982 point to a significant reduction in the percentage of applicants to the Ministry of Manpower. The number of those that passed the examination in this class was 64,128, of which 30,219 applied for appointments, compared with the previous class which numbered some 60,209 who were successful, of which 25,511 applied to the Ministry of Manpower.

Among the graduates of higher institutes and intermediate diplomas, the number of applicants for employment through the Ministry of Manpower increased, so that out of the class of 1980, 93,910 students will be placed out of 154,581 graduates, compared to the previous class when 143,914 were successful with applicants for work numbering 82,011.

The figures indicate the increase in numbers of applicants from graduates of higher institutes and intermediate diplomas, and the decrease in numbers of applicants from graduates of universities over the previous class.

No Jobs for Them

Despite the decrease in numbers of university students applying to the Ministry of Manpower for appointments, there are a large number who do not have jobs in the governmental or public sectors since some of the allocations exceed requirements. Furthermore, some of the ministries refuse to accept appointees through the Ministry of Manpower because these sectors use a competitive system in appointments!

We find that the ministries of Finance, Oil and Industry have not requested the appointment of any graduate through the Ministry of Manpower, which has resulted in an accumulation of graduates in these specialities. However, the Office of Graduate Placement in the Ministry of Manpower, as the director general of this office, 'Abd-al-Ma'z Qasim, says, "is forced to impose some of the graduates on these ministries over the refusal to accept those graduates. The problem with respect to graduates of agriculture and commerce, for instance, was solved by placing them in appropriate places.

"The latter problem is personified by the existence of graduates for whom we cannot find suitable places, including 600 graduates from science specialities, such as geology, chemistry, botany, zoology and chemical zoology. We cannot find suitable places for them, as well as 142 graduates from liberal arts colleges, specializing in oriental languages, Persian, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, in addition to 66 political science graduates.

"At the same time, there is a shortfall in the department of statistics from the same college. As for engineering graduates, there is an unusual surplus, which the ministries concerned reject, such as 163 graduates from the department of electrical communications, 32 engineers specializing in the mechanics of production, and 66 oil engineers. There is a world-renowned speciality, which we can scarcely make use of, and that is nuclear engineering, since there are 5 engineers from whom there are no places!

"There are institute graduates who have not found acceptable places. For instance, there are 193 graduates from the Institute of Cotton Sciences, 1,067 graduates from the Agricultural Cooperative and 555 from the Commercial Cooperative."

However, the director of the Ministry of Manpower's Office of Graduate Placement added: "We only find that those graduates can be placed in jobs that are probably not within their specialty. There are two major governorates, al-Daqahliyah and Alexandria, which refuse to accept any graduates this year from the various specialities, because of a surplus of labor there. This forces us to send graduates to them, and they then reject them, and we have to find them another place somewhere else."

Concerning the problems of the graduates and the appropriate solutions to them, 'Abd-al-Ma'z Qasim, director general of the Graduates Office in the Ministry of Manpower, said that the policy of placing graduates was aimed, firstly, at having the graduate look for a job that suited him, whether through a competitive process or something else, until he finds his suitable opportunity. "If he does not find one, we will try to appoint him to a job. We try to determine the places that suit his specialty. Immediately upon the announcement of acceptance of applications for the appointment, the graduate usually sends a special form, which he buys in the post office and on which he writes his desires. After that, we undertake the placement in accordance with the requirements that the ministries send to us, and in accordance with the wishes of the graduate."

[Question] Why do some agencies refuse to accept graduates through you?

[Answer] There are several agencies that do not accept graduates through the Ministry of Manpower, because they have special competitive processes of their own by which they select and appoint the numbers that they wish. Usually this system has its negative and positive aspects. However, it is preferable that there be some general regulations to control this system, so that it does not cause some new defect in the appointment process."

[Question] Local government agencies have begun to complain about the overage of employees that they have, and the accusation is against you, that you are the cause.

[Answer] All we are trying to do is to place graduates. The graduate has the backing of the government that when he applies for an appointment through us we must find him a place. The local government agencies are the ones recruiting this labor.

[Question] What are the causes for the decrease in numbers of university graduate applicants over the previous class?

[Answer] This decrease is caused either by going overseas or appointments through the competitive process, or the trend toward free labor. It is not caused by a trend toward investment jobs in the liberal-economic firms, because this sector usually looks for experience, which does not normally exist with the new graduate.

[Question] How do you prepare to receive the Egyptian labor abroad when they come back?

[Answer] We deal with the returnee from abroad. He does not have to have applied for work through us before that; he can be appointed directly to a job. As for other types of returning labor, whether they are independent or have previously applied for work through us, they can look for work through the Ministry of Manpower. They have a right to work. We also give them one opportunity during the year they return. As for the unexpected return of an Egyptian worker from abroad, this is the role of several agencies concerned to study and regulate this process. We undertake the implementation within the limits as prescribed by law.

The State's Mistake!

Dr 'Izzat al-Shaykh, dean of al-Azhar Commercial [College] told me that the state's obligation to appoint graduates is considered one of the grave mistakes that has caused harm to the economic development process in Egypt. Originally, the selection of work and production places for workers was according to the needs and circumstances of the job market, not that numbers of graduates were forced upon it without the need for them. When the state guaranteed free education for everyone and opened the doors of the universities wide, then logic decreed that it should abandon this policy of appointing university graduates, leaving this matter to be regulated by the forces of supply and demand, provided that it continue its obligation to appoint graduates from schools and technical institutes on a temporary basis, as an incentive to encourage matriculation into these institutes and changing the demand on them. This would thereby achieve goals, so long as we required them.

Moreover, concentrating on technical education is considered one of the pillars that builds a modern society and supports it, in order to provide the expenditures of university education. Additionally, technical training shortens the road that leads to the start of a practical life, at an early age, for a young man.

Dr Hilmi Namr, vice president of the Cairo University, and dean of the College of Commerce said: "The present system is tied to a political decision more than it is tied to the need of economic units for labor for productive activity. Moreover, the present system has resulted in contradictory circumstances that has had a negative impact on productivity."

The vice president of Cairo University went on to say that the labor force must be trained in a commensurate fashion with the demands of the labor market. This will only come about with a change in the educational policy that will reduce the numbers accepted in universities to the lowest amount possible, along with an increase in interest in technical education.

A comprehensive survey should be conducted to determine the variety and size of specialties required, in order to direct educational policy toward the appropriate specialties.

One must demand the abolishment of the present system, in order to shape up the labor force and to leave this matter to the economic units to guide the process of appointing a labor force that is commensurate with the opportunities available and the volume of production required.

The problem in the view of the Central Agency for Organization and Administration, as presented by Dr Husayn Ramzi Kazim, vice president of the Central Agency for Organization and Administration, is that the system of graduates can be summarized as a placement system that in fact tries to achieve a balance between the available supply of graduates and the demand. The ideal situation would be achieved whenever this balance occurred. By its nature, the problem would create the condition when this balance became disrupted. We would face either a large shortfall in a given specialty or a surplus in another specialty.

These results came about as a result of educational policies that were far removed from the true estimates of the requirements of the labor force in every specialty. There is no doubt that the economic and social circumstances have played a large role in regulating the problem of a labor surplus, because it was difficult to harmonize the growth rates in education, which increased to a considerable degree, and the economic growth rates that increased very slowly. This resulted in a considerable surplus of graduates who represent an increasing labor force, constrained and unproductive in units of the administrative apparatus of the state as a result of the appearance of those negative influences.

The state aimed at pursuing a policy of giving the administrative units freedom to employ people through a competitive system, and then the Ministry of Manpower would undertake to place the surplus labor. This policy, according to Dr Husayn Kazim, did not offer a radical solution, but it did allow the administrative units to select the most skilled elements from among the graduates.

"Therefore, we feel it necessary to abolish the current system gradually, along with giving every student currently in the universities the opportunity not to be appointed through the Ministry of Manpower. During this period, the current system would be completely reconsidered, along with drafting a national manpower plan that would assure a connection between educational policies and curricula and the needs of the development plan.

In the Next Issue

What do employees do after getting a job for the first time. Are their hopes and dreams smashed on the rocks of reality? What do they do, what are their jobs and what do they say? In the next issue, AKHBAR AL-YAWM offers a tour showing the nature of government agencies and offices along with the new employees.

[22 Sep 84 p 5]

[Excerpts] Is the policy of appointment through the Ministry of Manpower becoming extinct?

Do we want Egypt to have a competitive system of employing government workers?

The ministries of Finance, Oil, Industry and Foreign Affairs, some transportation sectors, and the Governorates of Alexandria, al-Daqahliyah and al-Gharbiyah will not accept any graduate who is placed by the Ministry of Manpower. There are huge surpluses of employees in the local administrations which form a heavy burden on their capabilities. The ministries prefer a competitive system, after its success was established in the specialized technical sectors.

This year some graduates will confront a problem that they have not considered before. Those ministries will reject their appointments, and Manpower will place them, forcibly, in the local administrations!

Those responsible for the problem say that appointment through the Ministry of Manpower is the policy of the state and cannot be ignored, so that every graduate can find a place to work. The strange thing is that despite the overage in officials, secretaries and file clerks, Manpower's placement plan this year suffers from a shortfall in the campaign for higher qualifications, as well as graduates of the theoretical colleges.

AKHBAR AL-YAWM continues its campaign to meet with all sides of the problem, the officials in the Ministry of Manpower, the ministries, the governorates and the local government, the current employees and the graduates of the universities, institutes and schools who are awaiting a job through Manpower of the competitive process.

Muhsin Fahim, the director general of manpower planning and training in the Ministry of Industry, says that certainly the competitive process is preferable to the system of placement through the Ministry of Manpower despite the gaps that spoil it, since favoritism, favors or bribery are inevitable. Sometimes, there must be an evaluation of experience, needs and skills.

He emphasized that the manpower requirements of the Ministry of Industry this year are completely clear. Any surplus of graduates that Manpower sends will be rejected, since there are no places for them. However concerning the competitive process, he went on to say that there are many sectors in the ministry that do not apply to the Ministry of Manpower for their requirements or that do not reject the appointment of graduates via this route. They use the competitive process to appoint specific persons or those with experience. Moreover, there are those who accept graduates from Manpower in order to fill an employee cadre and then form a functional progression with higher salaries and grades.

As for Eng Wajdi 'Abd-al-Hamid, chief of the Telephone Board, he told me that the competitive process used in his organization was much better for the technical categories than it was for the administrative. This system was successful in the organization to a considerable degree by raising the standard of technical competence to the highest level. There was no room for choice before the use of this process.

This process has shared in raising the level of technical competence and reducing the numbers of workers. For example, currently in the organization, six persons are able to bear the complete responsibility for operating the telephone cable. This level would not have been easy to attain without achieving the selection of new, quality, technical manpower with experience and skill.

Evaluation is the Basic Condition

In the Bureau of Taxes, a senior official told me that the bureau currently, and for at least 10 years, does not accept the appointment of workers to it through the Ministry of Manpower. On the contrary, it selects them basically through the competitive process, in order to make skill and experience the prerequisites.

18,000 More Graduates

Despite the serious overages in numbers of employees in all the governmental agencies and sectors, the requirements of these sectors are still able to absorb more. Manpower will be unable to fulfill these requirements, because those university graduates who apply for work through the Ministry of Manpower total 30,219, while the requirements levied by the governmental sectors total 43,445. In other words, there is a shortfall of university graduates for governmental jobs totaling some 13,226.

There is also a huge surplus of graduates from technical institutes and secondary technical schools, since the requested requirements total 75,005, while the number of applications to Manpower total 93,910, i.e., there is a surplus of 18,900 graduates.

The Office of Graduates in the Ministry of Manpower will undertake to place this surplus labor in order to fulfill the needs of some of the specialties that have shortfalls.

Shortage of Higher Qualifications

However, the graduates' placement plan this year suffers from a shortage of higher qualifications, with a shortfall in engineering graduates that totals 5,515, since there is a need for 7,270 with applications from only 2,214. There is also a shortage of applied arts graduates by 1,487, as well as in home economics by 1,748. That is because there is a requirement for 1,762 while the number of successful graduates was only 86, of which only 14 applied to the Ministry of Manpower.

7005

CSO: 4504/6

BRIEFS

NEW OFFSHORE INSURANCE COMPANY--It was announced recently in Bahrain that the Bahrain-Kuwait Insurance Company and the Yasuda Marine and Fire Insurance Company have agreed to establish a new joint company under the name Yasuda-Bahrain-Kuwait Insurance Company, with declared capital of \$5 million and \$1 million capital paid in full. As a Bahraini offshore company, the new company may be exempt, with 51 percent owned by the Japanese Yasuda Company and 49 percent owned by the Bahrain-Kuwait Insurance Company. Because it was formed as an exempt company, the new company will operate outside Bahrain. It will specialize in all types of insurance except life insurance and is equipped to provide reinsurance. The Bahrain-Kuwait Insurance Company was founded in Bahrain in 1975 with capital of 1.2 million Bahraini dinars. Bahraini citizens own 50 percent of the capital, with the remaining 50 percent owned by a number of Kuwaiti insurance and reinsurance companies. The company operates in Bahrain and Kuwait and has achieved great success over the past 9 years in automobile, marine, fire and general accident insurance. Yasuda Marine and Fire Insurance Company is the second largest insurance company in Japan, which has 21 such companies. [Text] [Manama AL-MAWAQIF in Arabic 6 Aug 84 p 5] 9882

PETROLEUM SURVEY--New petroleum surveys in the region begin on Wednesday and will cover approximately 3,500 square kilometers of Bahrain's territorial waters in the area between Fashit al-Jarim and al-Daybil up to Abu al-Sammamah. These surveys will probably last for 8 to 10 weeks, which will reduce the quantity of fish on the market and affect operations of approximately 1,000 fishermen who use 70 fishing boats in the area to the northeast of the country. An official source in the Fish Resources Department, which has asked the fishermen working in this area to stay away when the surveys begin, confirmed that the amount of fish reaching the market will be reduced, but said that it would be premature to predict to what degree. He said that most of the fishermen who would be hurt by this measure are from the village of al-Dayr, near the airport and that they provide approximately one quarter of the total amount of fish on the market. He said that the Fish Resources Department had urged fishermen who were affected to go to the department's office in al-Jafir to have the necessary steps taken care of. [Text] [Manama AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 8 Aug 84 p 1] 9882

FIRST INVESTMENT BANK--For the first time in Bahrain's history, the financial authorities have permitted the opening of an investment bank in the country. They have agreed, in accordance with a special license, to the Bahrain Investment Bank's operating as an investment company, after the bank fulfilled the required conditions to exercise its new authority. Capital of the investment company was set at 32 million Bahraini dinars, with a group of public and private institutions participating. Among leading participants from the public sector are the General Organization for Social Insurance, with participation of 32.75 percent; the government pension fund, with participation of 7.8 percent, and the military pension fund. The Bahrain-Kuwait Bank is the most prominent shareholder from the private sector, with 4.12 percent, followed by the Bahrain National Bank and the National Bank of Commerce. Insurance companies hold 2.3 percent of shares in the new company. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 391, 18 Aug 84 p 45] 9882

CSO: 4404/617

WEST BANK LANDS EXPROPRIATED FOR ROAD BUILDING

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 69, 4 Aug 84 pp 43-45

[Article: "AL-TADAMUN Exposes New Aspect of Israeli Plans To Fragment Palestinian Villages; 1,910 km of Palestinian Land Exposed to Usurpation on Pretext of Road and Street Building"]

[Excerpt] Occupied Jerusalem--After the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip on 5 June 1967, the Israeli authorities started immediately dividing the occupied lands into specific categories:

1. Lands within city and village planning.
2. Fallow lands.
3. Cultivated and tree-planted lands.
4. State-owned lands.
5. Public lands.

The authorities seized immediately the fallow, state-owned and public lands on the grounds that they were government lands.

The process of confiscating other lands then started under various military laws introduced under various pretexts, and at times without any pretext other than the insistence on further settlement.

But land confiscation, the forgery of land sale transactions, the harassment of landowners and farmers, the levying of exorbitant taxes, prevention of the use of water, and obstruction of the marketing of production have not been enough to fragment the Arab land and usurp it from its legitimate owners.

Consequently, the Israeli authorities have gone beyond confiscating and usurping fallow, state-owned and public lands to confiscating and usurping city and village lands through the regional planning projects they have introduced for the entire West Bank--projects introduced on the basis of old British Mandate plans, such as the (Candle R.G. 5) plan which was approved in 1942.

On this basis, the West Bank has been divided into three areas:

1. The northern area which includes Nab'ulus, Tulkarm and Janin.
2. The southern area which includes Hebron and its district.
3. The central area which includes the districts of Ramallah and of Bethlehem.

Through implementation of the new organizational plans for these areas, Israel is trying to usurp whatever remains of the Arab lands under the pretext of building wide roads, confining the construction sites within the cities and villages and stopping cultivation in other sites.

In 1981, for example, complete plans were drawn up for the regional organization project concerning the central area, namely Project No 1/82, which includes the area extending from 'Ayn Sinya in the north to Bayt Fajjar in the south. The project was submitted to the public for objections. However, the project has not been approved so far, keeping in mind that the Israeli authorities act in light of these projects when issuing building permits for the Arab citizens in the West Bank.

As for the two organizational projects for the northern and southern areas, they have not been submitted for objections even though the occupation authorities have actually begun to implement some stages of these two projects, contrary to the project for the central area over which numerous objections have been expressed. Most of these objections have been rejected. This is an obvious Jewish rejection that entrenches the premeditated plan to fragment the Arab cities and to destroy their future structures by controlling their construction movement and the various forms of their population growth.

Road Project

The fourth project (in addition to the three above-mentioned projects concerning the north, south and central areas) is the project that bears the designation No 50 and concerns the road network in the West Bank. This dangerous project emerged in July 1983 when it was approved by the Higher Planning Council of the Israeli Defense Army Command through Directive No 50 concerning the law organizing cities, villages and buildings. It is a project in which the Public Works Department of the Ministry of Construction and Housing, the National Security Unit of the Ministry of Defense, the Public Services Planning Division, the Civilian Administration (of what the occupation authorities call the Judea and Samaria areas) and the Organization Department took part.

All these Jewish establishments met to draw up the project for the geographic and demographic oppression of the West Bank through fragmenting the lands with all kinds of enormous roads and streets which, as we will see, are tantamount to no more than new forms of confiscating the land, destroying the crops and shattering the will to stand fast in the occupied homeland.

In this project, Israeli circles have relied on Jordanian law No 79 of 1966, amended by military order No 418 of 1971. The explanation of the project says:

(It describes the natural network of existing and proposed roads in the so-called area of Samaria and Judaea generally, pointing out the routes of the roads, classifying them and outlining the method for linking them in a single network and designing and directing the development and organization at the regional and provincial levels. The project is called the "Partial Skeletal Regional Project No 50 for Roads.")

Paragraph 4 of the general rules states the following:

"This project shall amend all the existing skeletal and detailed projects for roads. This project shall include the entire West Bank which is divided into eight provinces with a total area of 5,572 square km."

The Israeli authorities have actually begun to implement this project even though they have not announced this fact.

It is necessary to point out that this project poses numerous serious dimensions and dangers to the economic and political aspects of all parts of the West Bank.

Before we point out some of these dimensions and perils, we will review the kinds of roads that are planned in the Israeli project--an express road, a main road, a regional road and a local road.

1. Express road: this is a road with two lanes in each direction and links the urban centers with high traffic volume and receives traffic from the main roads.
2. Main road: this is a road with two lanes, with a lane in each direction. It receives traffic from regional roads.
3. Regional road: this is a road with two lanes receiving traffic from local roads.
4. Local road: this is a road linking settlements with a regional or main road.
5. Proposed road: this is a road that is to be built by the project but has not yet opened.

The above-mentioned skeletal organization project has set the width of each type of road as follows:

<u>Type of road</u>	<u>Width in meters</u>
Express road	120
Main road	100
Regional road	60
Local road	40

These widths are very large and consume Arab land, completely fragmenting it. This fragmentation is intensified by the easements that must be left free when the roads are being built. These easements are set by the project as follows:

<u>Type of road</u>	<u>Easement on each side</u>
Express road	150 meters
Main road	120 meters
Regional road	100 meters
Local road	70 meters

Thus, the construction of an express road will take up 420 meters: 120 meters for the width of the road and 150 meters of easement on each side.

In addition to banning construction on the sides, the project also prohibits extending water pipelines or wires or digging canals or lines above or under the surface of the road before getting a permit in advance from the "Higher Planning Council or from the committee concerned."

Destructive Consequences of Project

Consequently, the implementation of this project in its entirety means the consumption of vast areas of West Bank lands because the length of these roads will amount to 1,910 km. This includes the already built roads, the approved roads and the proposed roads.

The length of the newly proposed roads amounts to 708 km. The ownership of these lands will be transferred from the Arab Palestinian owners to the Jews "in charge of the skeletal organization project."

The length of the roads can be explained as follows:

<u>Type of road</u>	<u>Existing/approved</u>	<u>Proposed</u>	<u>Total</u>
Main	298 km	329 km	627 km
Regional	324 km	279 km	621 km
Local	662 km	--	662 km
Grand total			1,910 km

The JERUSALEM POST, an Israeli newspaper, pointed out that the cost of paving a single square meter of road is estimated to be 15 Jordanian dinars. This

means tens of millions of additional dollars flowing from the United States to Israel to bolster Zionist settlement activity and to confiscate the Arab lands.

As for the destructive consequences to Arab agriculture in the occupied land, this project will eat away most of the cultivable lands. If we take for example Road 57, which extends from Tulkarm to al-Jiftlik and which is 80 km long, we would find that Arab losses amount to the following:

- A. A total of 3,500 donums of land cultivated with vegetables.
- B. A total of 1,200 donums cultivated with olive trees.
- C. A total of 350 donums cultivated with citrus trees.
- D. Destruction of al-Fari'ah canal which irrigates al-Jiftlik area and which is 14 km long.
- E. The destruction of 15 artesian wells.
- F. The destruction of four modern agricultural nurseries.
- G. The destruction of three vegetable nurseries.

These destructive consequences are only a small part of the enormous loss suffered by the Palestinian farmers and landowners as a result of the construction of a single road. What would the loss be if the entire project with its 1,910 km of roads is implemented?

We can observe the additional consequences of the implementation of this Zionist project:

1. Encouragement of the emigration of Palestinians after they lose their land.
2. Conversion of most of the West Bank population into laborers working for Israeli establishments.
3. Further reliance by the West Bank on Israeli products.
4. Elimination of the West Bank's infrastructure.
5. Building of more settlements, considering that roads in the unpopulated parts of the West Bank will encourage the construction of more settlements.
6. Imposition of a political fait accompli on the West Bank population by destroying the hope of the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.
7. Killing of any chance of a just and comprehensive peace in the area.

8. Entrenchment of the actual annexation of the occupied territories.

Projects for Central, Northern and Southern Areas

It is axiomatic that the above-mentioned three projects for the northern, southern and central areas of the West Bank would be linked with the above-mentioned road project. We can define the objectives of these three regional skeletal projects in the following:

1. Confining the Arab city or village to a limited area and, consequently, reducing the chances of issuing building permits as well as totally banning construction outside the city limits.
2. Defining the areas called by the occupation authorities in the organization projects "special areas" which are areas set aside for new settlements and for future settlement expansion. It is noticed that the area set aside for settlement is much bigger than the area designated for the Arab villages.
3. Linking the settlements by road networks, encircling the Arab cities and villages and splitting the occupied territories from the north to the south so as to serve the settlements.

These Projects Must Be Foiled

Fighting and foiling these projects is a must. Even though Israel is trying to operate under the canopy of city and village planning laws, its attempt is completely exposed because its main objective is, evidently, to fragment and confiscate the Arab lands and to transform them into Zionist settlement centers and sites.

Even though some of the Arab villages and towns do actually need to be restructured, especially since some of them, such as Bethlehem, have not been subject to any organization since 1959, this important need will not be met except through the interests and objectives of the Palestinian citizens themselves.

But if the occupation insists on continuing the implementation of its projects without fanfare, slyly and quickly, then we are required to expose these projects and to confront the policy of imposing the fait accompli with a policy that refuses to cooperate with the occupation on these projects, regardless of what conventional inducements it offers regarding the importance of roads and streets in this modern age, because the occupation does not seek to achieve any development but rather seeks only to usurp the land.

8494

CSO: 4404/619

AL-NAJAH PRESIDENT DISCUSSES PROBLEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Jerusalem AL-FAJR in Arabic 19 Aug 84 p 3

[Interview with Dr Sharif Kana'anah, acting president of al-Najah University and member of the executive committee of the council on higher education, by Zuhayr al-Dab'i: "Local Universities Do Not Operate According to Single Plan; They Were Created Basically Through Pressure, not Through Desire for Development"; date and place unspecified]

[Text] What is the imminent danger threatening institutions of higher education?

Are we rushing to design a comprehensive academic plan to which educational institutions are committed, or are we experiencing the beginning of a national catastrophe?

What goal should educational institutions seek with regard to students, teachers, administration and security?

One of the differences between weak societies threatened by destruction and societies which look toward life, light and salvation is that weak societies proceed in an arbitrary, impromptu fashion. Their actions and activities are aimless and are usually just reactions which have not been well studied. On the other hand, the society which seeks light and deserves to live in daytime strives to proceed in all aspects of its life according to profound, well-studied plans.

Is it easy for societies to proceed in an aimless, impromptu fashion and go on living, to say nothing of their ability to maintain their existence?

Planning for higher education is like a surgical operation which is necessary to treat the moral and professional defects in institutions of higher education. It is a safety valve which makes our institutions regain consciousness.

In connection with this important topic AL-FAJR met with Dr Sharif Kana'anah, acting president of al-Najah National University and member of the executive committee of the council on higher education, and conducted the following interview:

[Question] With regard to planning for higher education, to begin with, do universities in the occupied territories function in accordance with a single plan?

[Answer] No. The universities do not operate in accordance with a plan, because in fact they were created as a result of pressures and not as a result of a desire for development. In other words, universities emerged as a result of students' inability to travel abroad and the problems and restrictions concerning travel and acceptance at Arab and foreign universities.

Universities in the occupied territories are like an emergency tent shelter in which a person who finds himself in the open air takes refuge. He cannot say, "I want a tent according to certain specifications."

The pressures faced by Palestinians are what shaped the universities. Nevertheless, certain universities do have old roots such as al-Najah and Bir Zayt. However, universities do not appear to have been created to defend development. Nor were they created from a desire for development. What happened was that the upper division was placed haphazardly on top of the previously-existing apparatus, as a result of pressures, not as a result of natural, well-studied development of what had existed for a long time.

Pressures required the existence of educational institutions, but they were used for various purposes. Those who oversaw the creation of educational institutions actually did not seek to develop education and help students. Some were motivated by a position of leadership. They considered educational institutions to be an extension of their political ancestry or simply commercial operations and acquisitions. What is important is the fact that there were various objectives, intentions and purposes behind the creation of educational institutions.

I must point out that the goal of commercial gain is not a defect in itself, since financial benefit can be sought through legitimate means. On the contrary, however, educational institutions can be simply a trap to obtain money.

Whatever the case, if we had a national authority, it would force all of those people, with their various objectives, regardless of their intentions to have educational institutions fulfill specific conditions under a single plan. In this fashion all these intentions would lead to the same end and achieve the same results.

[Question] On this basis, what should we expect in the future?

[Answer] The first result which I think will occur is that institutions will be politicized in accordance with the nature and objectives of their founders. Thus the institutions will become centers of political forces, not centers of learning.

[Question] I would like you to explain your concept of political activity. Do you mean that students should be concerned with their books and not think about politics?

[Answer] That is not what I mean. It is very beneficial for the student, professor and member of the board of trustees to be aware, have some direction and have a conscience.

If individuals in educational institutions have a political direction, that is both healthy and desirable. But if the institution is transformed into a command center for a leader or faction, that is destructive.

The Palestinians have only one way left to conform for survival, and that is through learning. Does the graduation of several hundred students with diplomas every year qualify them to survive and be families swarming with children? In order for the Palestine problem to survive, the Palestinian must remain in his house and on his land.

[Question] What are the fields of specialization, and to what extent do they correspond to our requirements in institutions of higher education?

[Answer] Let us go back to the way institutions of higher education evolved. It caused the number of students to be out of balance with the market and its environment. If we proceed on the basis of an academic plan achieving what must be achieved, then the opening of the university becomes a goal in itself, far-removed from the role of the university in graduating students in fields of specialization which could contribute toward realizing the plan originally laid down.

In general, the educational institutions have emerged in the same way as they have in societies living in natural, normal circumstances, while in fact, we are living in extraordinary, singular circumstances.

[Question] How do we translate these ideas into tangible measures?

[Answer] In general, the number of graduates in most cases corresponds with the number of those who wish and are able to recommence academic work and obtain a master's or doctoral degree, because the method of education and the courses which the student studies are transmitted from all the universities which live in normal circumstances. However, we are entitled here to ask what the percentage is of those completing their higher education.

We should learn from the student what his orientation is. Is it the academic field and resuming advanced study, or is it work in a certain profession? The bachelor's degree should become a degree of competence to enable the graduate to make use of it in his daily life.

Nevertheless, in institutions of higher education, we grant the bachelor's degree. It is not a degree of competence. Rather we give the student a general background which does not prepare the graduate for a profession or any specific work. This fact is applicable even to specialization in engineering. It is fitting for the graduate in this specialization to carry on his studies to the doctoral level. This path is suitable for nations which tend to regard the bachelor's degree as an "illiterate end." Is this true for us? If it is not true, and I believe it is not, then there should be two sections in each field of specialization. The first section should be for students who wish to enter the academic profession and complete their advanced studies. The second section should be for students who want to obtain a professional diploma, in other words, a diploma of competence which will help them earn their daily bread. On this basis, we envisage an academic bachelor's degree and separate, professional bachelor's degree, for example.

[Question] There are six Arabic language departments in educational institutions which grant the bachelor's degree in the occupied territories. Does this phenomenon not deserve attention? Should not an attempt be made to benefit from the teaching staff and consolidate these departments into two or three? Also, is it necessary to have certain departments of the School of Engineering repeated at both al-Najah and Bir Zayt? Is it not appropriate to have certain departments at al-Najah and others at Bir Zayt? We could utilize the teaching staff and benefit from the installations and consolidations. Consequently, this would be of benefit to students and improve their academic level.

[Answer] Occasionally you find that the number of certain departments is not adequate, and the number of others is much more than adequate. If the capabilities, equipment and laboratories in one field of specialization were assembled at a specific university according to a well-studied plan, and this were done at another university too, then we would arrive at the ideal figure. At present it is certain that the division is not the best, because it is haphazard.

This undertaking is positive and necessary, though difficult to apply. I am a member of the executive committee of the council on higher education, but it has no power or force. Let us go back to what I said at the beginning of the interview. Without a national authority to support the council on higher education, it cannot be of use in an effective manner. No one is willing to support it. So far no one has listened to it.

[Question] Why are universities not obligated to resolutions and recommendations of the council on higher education when it is made up of the universities themselves?

[Answer] Approximately half of the members of the council on higher education and from outside the universities. They are from the municipalities and professional associations and so on. The fact is

that representatives of universities who are members of the council on higher education are representatives of their own universities. Each person tries to realize the greatest benefit for his own institution. Perhaps university representatives themselves know that the institution is not obligated to resolutions of the council, even if a university representative himself has participated in their formulation. For these reasons, resolutions of the council on higher education remain on an extremely general level and do not commit institutions to anything tangible.

[Question] If one of the reasons the council on higher education is ineffective is the fact that there is no one with real authority, then why not take a short cut and create a council on higher education from among such people directly?

[Answer] I think that there is no particular individual with all the authority. I say that there are pressure groups and power groups.

Ultimately there are degrees of power, and usually the people with the greatest authority and influence are not suitable as members of the council on higher education, because they are not usually academics. Planning for higher education and directing educational institutions require the presence of academics.

In a country which lives in normal circumstances there is a ministry of higher education supported by state, authority and law. Because of the presence of authority, law and order, men with authority do not have a decisive role in the administration of institutions. They have a very broad policy, and academics lead the academic organizations.

In institutions of higher education in the occupied territories, direct authority over departments and the appointment of individuals is usually at a very high level.

[Question] Do we continue on this dangerous course, or do we face the facts, and if so, how?

[Answer] There is a difference between the desirable and the possible. What is required is coordination and planning, and this is the easiest method, in the presence of a central authority, a state with a legitimate and central authority. There are societies which have passed through stages when they were able to coordinate the plan jointly, even in the absence of a central authority. Joint coordination and planning to which all are committed are both desirable and necessary. This would lead to the correction of a bad situation and the improvement of conditions of institutions of higher education in the occupied territories.

[Question] Do you expect us to be vigorous in laying down a plan for higher education and in being committed to it?

[Answer] I do not find myself optimistic, because the degree of disintegration has reached the level of social disease, in my opinion. As far as I know about what is happening, coordination and combined work in which everyone participates are inconceivable.

It is self-evident that the enemies of the progress and salvation of this society have an interest in this. They have plotted even to bring the Palestinian society to this degree of dissolution, disintegration and chaos so that it cannot establish a unified plan. There is a deep feeling of distress and bitterness that these hostile plans might succeed.

We are suffering from a disease. This disease in large part is the result of casual planning, and to some extent it is the result of abnormal circumstances. We can work and succeed, because the disease from which we are suffering is not the result of our thinking or ability to work. Rather it is the result of the interaction of a great number of forces and circumstances.

Harsh circumstances have been imposed on us. However, schemes to spread chaos and disintegration, to which we have opened the door of success, have contributed toward deepening the chaos, as if they are factors to which we must surrender.

I am not far from the truth in saying that schemes to consecrate chaos and disintegration are part of a psychological war aiming at ruining and finishing off society.

This chaos is not a legitimate offspring of harsh circumstances which we must accept and offer protection and food. It is not a result of the absence of a national authority, since chaos must not reign to such a fatal extent in every society which does not have a state. There is chaos even in institutions of higher education!

[Question] A student in the 5 year of secondary school comes under many influences in choosing a field of specialization at the university. However, the result usually is not a choice which fits either the needs of the country and job possibilities or the will or inclinations of the student himself. Would it not be appropriate for a special committee to emerge and be responsible for directing students toward suitable fields of specialization?

[Answer] Basically, whoever is directing must have sufficient information. The problem is that our educational institutions have a great deal of potential for education, with zero results (none).

There must be sufficient study, thought and planning on various levels. Neither universities nor graduates live in a vacuum. Efforts must be supported for comprehensive planning.

It is necessary to point out that we control many variables. Here we go back and seek a national, central authority, or at least a well-coordinated, approved body.

[Question] What about the community colleges which have been established already and those being readied? Do these colleges come under the sphere of responsibility of the council on higher education? Does the council know about their creation, programs and academic level?

[Answer] In theory, yes. The council on higher education should supervise all educational institutions here above the 5th year of high school level. The council now is seeking authority to control the establishment of community colleges and the opening of new schools or departments in universities.

[Question] Will the council on higher education succeed in this vital matter?

[Answer] This has to do with the power of the council. The council needs an effective instrument of influence such as money, for instance. In any case, we face many variables, and there are very few of these variables which we can control. Therefore I do not expect the authority of the council on higher education to grow in the near future.

There is the intervention on the part of non-academics in the institutions to a great and profound extent. This does not mean the boards of trustees, but leaders such as the preacher in the mosque who deals with university matters, the political leader who attacks the university and intervenes in it, and many leaders in society. Every one of them feels that he has the right to intervene in affairs of the university, put its administration on trial and dictate to it whatever he wants.

Student groups insult one another, fights revolve around them, they are not above the use of strong pressure, even physical violence, against each other and administrations of the institutions, and the system of reward and punishment in our institutions is not based for the most part on academic achievement, but on the make-up of the family and group. All this makes it very difficult for the person who believes in the value and importance of academic performance to stay in the country, work and accomplish something.

If the situation remains as it is, fears will be justified that the best minds, the best qualified and the people who take learning most seriously will leave the country. In fact, a not insignificant number of the most capable people fear that if the situation continues, the institutions in the future will become a stage for tribal and for political, factional competition and for opportunists in general.

I hope and desire that these tragic circumstances compel us to work seriously and constructively so that we may prevent a further decline of the situation and begin building on strong bases and approved academic plans.

7811
CSO: 4404/651

SOVIETS WAIT FOR CHANCE TO EXERT INFLUENCE

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 391, 18 Aug 84 p 20

[Article by Salim Nassar: "Soviet Fish in Lebanese Lake"]

[Text] At the time Polyakov visited Beirut, a ceremony was held in Moscow to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Lebanon. The ceremony meeting was given prominent media coverage and the speakers competed in reviewing the history of the relationship between the two countries since the late 'Umar Fakhuri assumed chairmanship of the Association of Friends of the Soviet Union in 1942.

The Arab diplomats in Moscow interpret the active Soviet movements as being the natural consequence of the failure suffered by U.S. policy in Lebanon and the Middle East, especially since numerous factors have helped revitalize this [Soviet] role after it had been frozen for a long time. Abolition of the 17 May accord leads these factors because it brought the central government closer to Damascus and produced a government which Moscow has described as the other face of the government of rapprochement with the United States.

The visit by Ministers Wlad Junblatt and Nabih Birri to Moscow has had the most profound impact on bolstering the confidence of Soviet diplomacy in the wake of the exposure of this diplomacy to various pressures and accusations throughout the 10 years of the war. It has been evident from keeping Soldatov ambassador in Beirut longer than any other ambassador that Moscow's plan in Lebanon has not changed since the early 1970's and that Soldatov is the best man to achieve this plan even though his procession has been exposed to setbacks. It is said that Gromyko sees in Soldatov, the man with the firm relationship with the late leader Andropov, the ideal diplomat to endure Lebanon's conditions and to infiltrate Lebanon's political bases and leaderships with the composure and precision of a turtle. Soldatov's colleagues, the ambassadors, describe him as a man with an extraordinary capability for persistence and patience and for overcoming whatever stands in his way, exactly like the ant of Alexander the Macedonian, meaning that his efforts do not relent in the face of difficulties. Patience is a quality that characterizes the professionals in the Soviet diplomatic corps. Khalil Taqi-al-Din, the ambassador and man of letters, once summed up this quality with the following anecdote: "Every morning, I used to walk the distance

between the Lebanese Embassy in Moscow and my home on foot and every time I made sure to look at the basket of an old fisherman, but without seeing a single fish in it. This man amazed me with his capacity to withstand the freezing cold and with his patience that knew no despair. He would open a hole in the ice, throw his hook and wait. After a week, I got worried about him and asked him: 'I don't see a single fish in your basket. So what are you waiting for in this biting cold?'

"The old man smiled and replied calmly: 'Sir, I will continue to wait and the fish must inevitably come.'"

This symbolic answer sums up the patience of Soviet diplomacy which deals with events persistently, very patiently and without acknowledging the spirit of despair.

It seems that the opportunity is now available for such a flexible movement, especially since the Soviet Union has declared its readiness to participate in rebuilding Lebanon and in arming the Lebanese army. This invitation has come simultaneously with the freezing of U.S. economic aid and with Washington's withdrawal in this phase from any political or security activity concerning Lebanon. In addition to these facts, the preoccupation of the Israelis and of Reagan's administration with the internal election affairs has inspired the Soviet Union to exploit this phase to secure with Lebanon political, economic and trade relations that would be difficult to abolish after a period of time.

Observers believe that the concerted Soviet activity concerning Lebanon first and the area second is a natural outcome of the policy of containment projected by the Kremlin leaders under the canopy of the [proposed] international conference [on the Middle East problem]. Considering that Lebanon is one of the main parties to the conflict, the Soviet proposal will remain deficient if Lebanon excludes or if Rashid Karami's cabinet rejects the idea of the conference.

8494

CSO: 4404/632

BANKING OFFICIAL URGES ARAB AID TO LEBANON

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 391, 18 Aug 84 pp 47-48

[Interview with Anwar al-Khalil, chairman of Union of Arab Banks: "Answer al-Khalil, Chairman of Union of Arab Banks: Lebanon Has Retreated as Banking Center and Its Banks Must Adopt Merger Policy"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The position of the Lebanese banking system is still very sound despite the chapters of the war witnessed by Lebanon and the severe economic stagnation. However, the Lebanese banks should reconsider their conditions, especially in terms of adopting the principle of merger. There are 100 banks, with which the Lebanese market is almost overflowing. This is the belief expressed by Anwar al-Khalil, the chairman of the Union of Arab Banks and the vice president and general director of the Beirut-Riyadh Bank, in the following interview:

[Question] What is your evaluation of the current Lebanese banking situation?

[Answer] Generally, the position of the Lebanese banking sector is very sound. But the entire economic situation in Lebanon has had its inevitable negative impact on banking activity in the wake of the evident stagnation in financial and economic activity and of the lack of final stability in the security situation. Moreover, the Israeli occupation in the south has its negative consequences to the economic situation. South Lebanon's exports to the outside world have dropped by 20 percent in comparison with its volume in the past and communication with this important part of Lebanon has become difficult, and this has had a negative impact on the very active economic exchange that existed between the south and the other parts of Lebanon.

[Question] Are there guarantees that the incident of the First Phoenician Bank will not recur?

[Answer] There is no guarantee other than the ethical and moral guarantees by which the banks must abide.

[Question] Is there anybody who criticizes the intervention of the Bank of Lebanon to rescue the First Phoenician Bank?

[Answer] It was very necessary for the Bank of Lebanon to intervene when the crisis occurred, even though the Central Bank had not been familiarized with the enormity of the problem. However, the intervention of the Bank of Lebanon at the time when this intervention occurred was necessary because the banking situation could not withstand an incident of this sort during a period of severe security deterioration. The incident of the First Phoenician Bank could have had negative repercussions abroad for all the active Lebanese banks. However, the support advanced by the Bank of Lebanon gave the international banking and financial circles the positive and definite impression that the Bank of Lebanon did not abandon the Lebanese banks under those dark circumstances.

[Question] Do you find it necessary to reexamine the banking situation in its entirety?

[Answer] I am one of those who say that it is necessary that the Lebanese banks evaluate their administrative conditions, meaning that the managements of banks must be supplied with cadres of specialists concerned with banking affairs and proven by experience to be scientifically and ethically qualified. A bank is founded basically on trust between its management and the public on the one hand and between its management and the currency authorities in the country concerned on the other hand. When the door of licensing banks in Lebanon was opened, it was my opinion that the authorities concerned should pay attention not only to the capital but also to the quality and mentality of those in charge of the banks to be established. Now that the number of banks in operation has grown to 100 banks, the tendency to merge some banks must be encouraged so that these banks may be able to control their financial and human capabilities, especially in a market where the conditions have declined and where the spheres of sound investment and managerial expertise have diminished. It is no shame to acknowledge that the position of the Lebanese financial and banking market has declined considerably, thus leading to a brain drain and to the emigration of some capital. Therefore, the banks must think of the real situation and must combine their activities in some sort of a voluntary merger so that they may have the opportunity to make profits in the intermediate and long range.

[Question] Don't you think that merging a number of negatives may lead to a major negative?

[Answer] I have not called for merging the small banks but have rather called for banking mergers through consent, such as merger between a major bank and a small one, for example. What is important is that the merger emanate from the conviction and interests of the banks concerned.

[Question] What is your evaluation of the position of the Lebanese pound?

[Answer] The Lebanese pound's position has perplexed everybody. However, it can be said that each currency reflects the economic and security situation of its country. The Lebanese pound, like other currencies, is affected by these two factors. In case the economic and security conditions fail to improve, I believe that the pound will continue to drop versus the dollar in particular.

We must also note that the dollar's position abroad is strong and will continue to be so in the next few months, and this will cause the Lebanese pound to drop gradually even further. In my opinion, this decline cannot be stopped unless Lebanon receives vast financial aid that enables it to finance a big part of its reconstruction plan. This may be impossible at present because of the decline in the national revenues of all the Arab countries with a financial surplus.

[Question] It seems that the international interest rates are rising. Do you think that the interest rates will also rise in Lebanon?

[Answer] The interest rates in Lebanon are supposed to be a main instrument for establishing a balance in the Lebanese currency's exchange rate. But the problem is that the Lebanese economy is exhausted to the utmost degree. Therefore, I believe that the use of the interest rate instrument is limited and marginal and a narrow maneuver in this regard.

[Question] In your capacity as one of those who are well informed about the Arab banking situation, how do you evaluate this situation?

[Answer] The Arab banking situation suffers from no basic problems. However, there are conditions to which attention must be paid insofar as the monies loaned by some Arab banks to a number of Latin American countries are concerned. These countries are now in the position of non-payers or of ones who are unable to pay. At best, these countries are finding it difficult to make their payments. Moreover, the conditions of some Arab banks are evident to everybody and raise a limited question regarding the controls on banks in some Arab countries. We hope that serious efforts are being exerted in these countries to end the abnormal conditions in a sound manner so that no other problems may emerge in the Arab financial market. But we must be realistic in our evaluation of the banking conditions because banking problems are not confined to Lebanon or the Arab world alone. Rather, important incidents have occurred in various countries, including the United States where the Continental Bank of Illinois, which is the fourth largest bank in the United States, was exposed to a tremor from which it has not survived.

[Question] What are the latest developments in the Union of Banks?

[Answer] The union has 5-year working plans which it approved at the General Assembly's latest meeting in London. We have begun to implement the basic projects in the plan, which are?

1. The Arab Banking Institute: On this issue, the committee concerned met on 11 and 12 August with specialists in the issue of banking institutes to approve the basic tendency insofar as the site and cost of this project are concerned. We will visit Chase Manhattan Bank in New York, which is now building an enormous new institute that will begin operating in the first quarter of 1985, to benefit from its expertise in this field. We hope that the Arab Banking Institute will be ready to receive students in 1986.

2. The Arab Banking Bank: We have begun implementing the first part, which consists of issuing the "Arab Banking Director." This directory will be ready for distribution in 1985. This step will be followed by implementation of the subsequent steps over a period of 3 years so that the data bank may be then complete.

3. The Arab Business Bank: This project is still under study, keeping in mind that the union finds it necessary to establish such a bank so that it may determine the projects capable of survival in the Arab world, conduct feasibility studies and secure the sources of financing from the union members through cooperation with the specialized financial institutions and with the various Arab development funds.

8494

CSO: 4404/649

NORTHERN POLITICAL LEADERS DISCUSS CONFLICTS, SECURITY PLANS

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1450, 17 Aug 84 pp 51-54

[Interview with several north Lebanon party leaders by Sharbil Zughayb:
"AL-HAWADITH Meets With Parties to al-Kurah and Tripoli War"]

[Text] As soon as the al-Kurah war in north Lebanon between the Muradah Forces and the SSNP [Syrian Social Nationalist Party] subsided, the Tripoli war between the Islamic Unification Movement and the Arab Democratic Party erupted anew and the north, like the other parts of Lebanon, was doomed to live in a state of constant turmoil.

When Prime Minister Rashid Karami announced that the security plan will be expanded from Beirut to include all areas, he was focusing attention on establishing security in the capital of the north and in al-Kurah where the fighting came to an end on the basis of the so-called Damascus agreement between al-Muradah and the SSNP, with al-Kurah thus regaining its peace.

Why did al-Kurah war break out, and has the agreement become entrenched enough to tackle the differences with political means?

With this question in mind, AL-HAWADITH interviewed Robert Franjiyah in his capacity as the commander of the Muradah Forces and Dr Marwan Faris in his capacity as the chairman of the SSNP Supreme Council.

[Question] Al-Kurah war assumed more than one characteristic and interpretation. Some have considered it an act on your part to dominate the area in preparation to spreading your control over the entire northern area. Others have considered it an act of domination by the Maronite sect over the other sects. What is the true nature of al-Kurah war?

[Robert Franjiyah] I add that some of them have also considered it an act to dominate the Muslim sects in al-Kurah. But after our meeting in Damascus and after the paternal intervention of His Excellency President Hafiz al-Asad to stop the internecine fighting in al-Kurah area--the area of our beloved and our friends--I would like to clarify some points. In 1929, when deputies were elected on the basis of governorates, Qablan Franjiyah was the representative of the north. Since then, we have maintained friendships and relations with our beloved people in the area. When the northern governorate

was divided into districts, al-Kurah deputies cooperating with the line represented by Qablan Franjiyah were the ones who got elected. The friendship or the fraternity is not new, regardless of the allegations of those who have never been able to enter the parliament as representatives and who always brought aliens to the area for the purpose of domination and terrorization. Fortunately, our friends in al-Kurah area brought to our attention violations committed in the area by some partisans whose return to the area we approved in the wake of the Ihdin massacre of 1978. All the violations were committed under the pretext of fighting the Israeli enemy. But, unfortunately, these partisans stayed tens of kilometers away from the contact lines separating the northern area from the area of the Lebanese Forces and they started to levy "protection money" through terrorism. Whenever a quarrel erupted between an element of al-Muradah passing through al-Kurah area and heading for the contact lines and other elements whose military presence, wherever it may be, is unjustifiable, such quarrels were settled with the best [peaceful] means.

We wonder: Why do these armed elements resort to absolutely unjustifiable battles in solving certain problems? This is the issue on which we have our fundamental doubts.

[Question] Is it true that Maj Gen Muhammad al-Khuli, the Syrian emissary, advised you not to embark on this war?

[Franjiyah] Maj Gen Muhammad al-Khuli came to inquire about the true situation on the paternal initiative of President Hafiz al-Asad.

[Question] Some say that the canton for which the Nationalists have been accusing of preparing will be a Christian canton and will include all the Christian areas from Jazzin to al-Arz and that after delineating the canton's borders, the intra-Maronite problems in the canton will be settled. What is your opinion of this?

[Franjiyah] My opinion is that the accusations about setting up a Christian canton by a person with the name of Franjiyah are accusations that are not worth answering. I leave it to all the thinkers in Lebanon and in the Arab country to feel free to be convinced or unconvinced of this accusation.

[Question] Despite the patriotic Christian personality of ex-President Sulayman Franjiyah, it is noticed that there is no coordination or effort to create a Christian current supporting you in the other Christian areas outside the north. To what do you attribute this?

[Franjiyah] As long as terrorism in all its forms is present in the other Christian areas, it is impossible to ask any Christian to do something to put an end to the excesses committed in the name of protecting the Christians. Nowadays, how can you ask a father fearing for the life of his son on his way back from school to rebel against him who threatens to kill the son if he doesn't pay the protection money?

[Question] Is there any coordination between you and the Christian notables outside the northern area?

[Franjiyah] There is constant contact with most of the Christian notables in all parts of Lebanon.

[Question] The Lausanne conference was tantamount to a moral and propaganda victory for ex-President Sulayman Franjiyah whereas this victory has turned into a series of successive losses at the practical level, beginning with the formation of the cabinet, the formation of the Military Council and the appointment of the army commander and ending with the appointment of the other security commanders. How do you explain this?

[Franjiyah] The Lausanne conference was not a victory for ex-President Franjiyah, not in the manner that some people tried to depict. Rather, the conference was tantamount to the crystallization of ex-President Franjiyah's thinking that there is no justification for Lebanon's existence and no logic for Lebanon's continuation if one Lebanese faction dominates the others. Lebanon is 50 percent Christian and 50 percent Muslim. Coexistence with dignity and with mutual respect is the basis of ex-President Sulayman Franjiyah's line. This is what every citizen, excluding those who want to make gains by the force of arms, aspires for. As for the appointments, all know that even when ex-President Franjiyah appointed during his administration three friends who, unfortunately for them, happened to be from Zgharta, an endless clamor was raised and the appointment was called at the time an act of domination. What would you expect if we asked nowadays for the appointment of one of our friends to a certain position? We have not and we will not demand any gain but we do demand security and a free life for the citizen who, after 10 years of war, cannot easily find a source of livelihood for his children.

[Question] The Damascus agreement calls for splitting the Christian ministerial seats equally between the Lebanese Front and ex-President Franjiyah. But this has not happened. Who, in your opinion, breached the agreement?

[Franjiyah] Is the side that breached the Damascus agreement the side which formed the cabinet?

[Question] If there is a plan to expand the current cabinet and if you are asked to take part in it, would you accept?

[Franjiyah] Until the cabinet is expanded and I am asked to take part in it, there will be relaxation and mercy.

[Question] Was the purpose of detaining the military in the north and of preventing them from going to Beirut to make them participate in al-Kurah war or to set up the North Lebanon Army under the command of Antoine Barakat?

[Franjiyah] Only two army elements from Zgharta, who were performing their duty and carrying out the orders issued by their command, were detained at al-Barbarah roadblock. They then started sending every northern officer and soldier to the Beirut front and to the contact lines. Some of those officers and soldiers were martyred and some were wounded in battles against

the Lebanese. As for those who remained in their offices, they got promotions and seniority. Some of them rebelled against their command and were rewarded with positions in the Military Council. Why do you want our sons to be killed and to be exposed to injury and death whereas the others are the ones who should be in this position? This is why we demanded that the 7th Brigade be returned to its positions because nobody can defend the northern area like the northerner. God be thanked, President Amin al-Jumayyil has, for the first time, responded to us and ordered the 7th Brigade to return to the north.

The formation of an army under the command of Antoine Barakat is only one of the slogans raised but the people know how credible are those who raise these slogans.

[Question] In the wake of the friction in Jurud al-Batrun, all expectations indicated the possibility of the eruption of a battle between al-Muradah and the Lebanese Forces. Instead, the battle occurred between you and the Nationalists. Are there signs of agreement between al-Muradah and the [Lebanese] Forces?

[Franjiyah] There are no signs whatsoever of agreement with the Lebanese Forces as long as these forces receive their orders from the Israeli enemy.

[Question] Do the Zgharta people move freely in Tripoli and is there disagreement between them and the Islamic Unification Movement?

[Franjiyah] So far, the Islamic Unification Movement has displayed no negative initiative toward the Zgharta people. On the contrary, whenever a quarrel erupts in Tripoli they ask the Zgharta people not to move around in the city so as to protect them and to foil the trap which some people want to lay in the north to strike the unified position taken by the northerners in the face of partition.

Marwan Faris: We Are Eager for Our Relations With Ex-President Franjiyah

[Question] The issue of al-Kurah has assumed more than one characteristic and has been coupled with more than one interpretation and statement. What is the SSNP's opinion of the events witnessed by al-Kurah area?

[Faris] We had developed the conviction that the security plan may spread throughout all of Lebanon. This is why we were preparing the areas in which we have a strong presence to receive the security plan. Naturally, we were surprised by al-Muradah's attack on al-Kurah area, especially since a delegation of the party had met at the beginning of July with ex-President Sulayman Franjiyah and since the meeting was positive and friendly.

In the first day of the battle, we felt that there was an attempt to gain control of the area and so our comrades who were present there fought in defense of their lives and of their homes and kinsmen. We were able to stand fast in the battles launched by al-Muradah against us. This

steadfastness on our part led to the direct intervention of President al-Asad and to a proposed solution presented by 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam. We approved the agreement reached, and so did Robert Franjiyah in the name of al-Muradah. The agreement is being now implemented properly and carefully.

[Question] In your opinion, will this agreement continue, or are there signs of other setbacks that may occur?

[Faris] On our part, we adopted a resolution in our latest annual congress to support the national decisions made by the Lebanese Government. Because we consider the security plan one of the most significant of these decisions, we find ourselves concerned with its full implementation, especially since we agree with the Syrian position that calls for closing the dossier of the Lebanese war and for turning the efforts toward liberating the south, Rashayya and western al-Biqa'.

The internal conflicts in their present violent form in the Lebanese arena must be stopped, peace must prevail in Lebanon and we must continue on the path of political struggle. On the basis of all of this, we are implementing precisely all the provisions of the Damascus agreement we have signed.

[Question] Al-Muradah accuses you of having engaged in certain actions against the inhabitants of al-Kurah and that this forced them to launch the attack against you. What kind of acts did you engage in?

[Faris] The answer to these accusations is provided by the party's history, especially during the Lebanon war. Our party is well known in holding itself above all the excesses and all the violations against the citizen's rights which have marred this war. We are committed to the Damascus agreement which recommends ending the propaganda attacks between us and al-Muradah because we are eager for our relationship with ex-President Franjiyah and for the general situation with which and through which we have cooperated within the framework of the National Salvation Front.

As for the accusation that the party attacked al-Kurah, nobody who hears such statements can believe them.

[Question] Al-Muradah says that instead of your directing your weapons toward the contact lines and against the Lebanese Forces which al-Muradah and you accuse of lackeyhood to Israel, you have turned these weapons against yesterday's allies in the National Salvation Front. What is your reply?

[Faris] We did not attack Zgharta. Al-Muradah attacked al-Kurah. Naturally, all the Lebanese stood with us in our position of defense. The battle that took place in this area is a unique battle because it is the first time that a progressive ideological party has gained comprehensive support from all the Lebanese factions. Al-Muradah, instead of turning its weapons against those whom it considers its enemies in the Lebanese Forces, turned those weapons against those whom it considered allies, i.e., the

Social Nationalists. We lost four martyrs in this battle and each of those martyrs belongs to a different area and sect. This shows that the Social Nationalists are fused in the same area and the same mentality.

[Question] Ex-President Franjiyah responds to your accusation that he is working to set up a Christian canton by saying that if he were actually working toward this end, he would not have permitted your return to al-Kurah in the wake of the 13 June massacre in Ihdin. What is your answer?

[Faris] We ask for nobody's permission to settle in any place. We have never left al-Kurah but have defended it. Ex-President Franjiyah abandoned his position in the Lebanese Front and came to our national position. Therefore, these accusations are unbelievable.

[Question] It is said that the SSNP has passed through a period of stagnation and of coming apart. Now that a new chairman has been elected for the party, how do you envision the coming phase within your party?

[Faris] Our party has not gone through phases of breaking apart. There was a split in the party and we have been able to overcome it and to reorganize the party. This phenomenon is, of course, unique in the world because there has been no party in the world that has splintered and then reunited. As to what happened recently, it falls within the party's constitutional framework, considering that we hold our general congress once every 4 years. This year, the party elected a new Supreme Council and this council then met and elected colleague 'Isma al-Mahayiri party chairman and also elected his office staff. We expect further work and struggle in the coming phase to restore peace to Lebanon and to achieve our national objectives generally.

[Question] How do you evaluate the party's general relationship with the State of Lebanon?

[Faris] After Amin al-Jumayyil was elected president of the republic, a delegation of the party in which I was a member met with the president and we expressed the hope to him that he will rule justly and democratically. We told him that as an opposition party, we were prepared to deliver to him all our weapons. Regrettably, the official actions which took place led to the big explosion which resulted in dropping the 17 May accord and in the departure of the NATO forces from Beirut, and also resulted in forcing the regime to change its political course. Consequently, the party has adopted its official position in its latest congress and this position calls for supporting the national decisions of Prime Minister Rashid Karami's cabinet. While giving our confidence to this cabinet, we have expressed our readiness and our demands to Prime Minister Karami regarding the need for the party to participate in Lebanon's political life, especially in the Constituent Council. We have told Prime Minister Karami that the SSNP is fully prepared to take part in reformulating Lebanon's political life and that the party is ready to push all its forces for the implementation of the plan concerning domestic weapons.

Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban: We Have Our Security Plan

Tripoli was tranquil on that day and Prime Minister Rashid Karami had just returned from his quick tour in Syria and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, carrying with him the good news that Lebanon would soon finally overcome the state of war and that the security plan would spread to Tripoli, the north and all parts of Lebanon after Beirut.

But the traces of the latest battle in Tripoli between the Fursan al-'Arab [Arab Knights] and the Islamic Unification Movement were evident everywhere and Tripoli's people feared that the battles would be renewed for any reason and that the Coordination Committee would move without achieving any firm results.

Why doesn't Tripoli settle down?

Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban said: "The events experienced by Tripoli are political events intended for the domination of all of Lebanon. All the events that have occurred in Lebanon, not just the Tripoli events, are intended for domination--domination by the imperialist and by Israel. The imperialist is the United States primarily. Lebanon is the weak point in the Middle East area because of numerous contradictions that constitute this Lebanese structure and which make it easy for the imperialist to penetrate Lebanon.

"Throughout history, Lebanon has been the gate for the Crusader, Tatar, Mogul and Western imperialism and, nowadays, U.S. imperialism, which is trying to control the world through its military might and to impose the policy of oppression and domination on all the peoples, beginning with Latin America, Africa and Asia and ending with the Middle East, whose problem is summed up in the presence of Israel, which was created by the Western countries and which the United States supports nowadays with all its strength. Therefore, we are part of the area's conflict and the sects are used to starting and fanning the fires of disagreement and fighting. There is no doubt that an inadequate awareness of the true nature of imperialism and the collusion of the Arab regimes with the imperialist plot are what have led Lebanon to its present situation."

[Question] Meaning that the battles that take place in Tripoli are between imperialism on the one hand and liberation on the other?

[Sha'ban] Yes, because Tripoli enjoys the quality of true coexistence among all the sects. The Muslims and the Christians in Tripoli, rather in the entire north, live a life of true concord. All feel patriotic and enjoy security and stability. The purpose is to strike this formula and to create in Tripoli contact lines so that the northern area may not be a model emulated by the other areas. They have created for us a contact zone between Tripoli and Jabal Muhsin so that no place will remain without contact lines, so that the single city in Lebanon may be split into two sections and so that the single area may be turned into free zones, with triumph and domination thus achieved by exhausting all and by preoccupying them with this ceaseless battle for which we know no reason, unless you can explain the

reason to us. We do not find between ourselves and Jabal Muhsin any previous history of hostility, until they filled it with weapons and munitions and deployed in it fighters who shell Tripoli with their missiles and their guns daily for some reason and for no reason. They have told Jabal Muhsin that Tripoli is an enemy that they want to destroy with its inhabitants. The fact is that Jabal Muhsin has existed for hundreds of years. Rather, there was no Jabal Muhsin. What existed in this area was Muslims of all denominations and Christians and they lived in the area without any feeling of the social divisions under which we have lived since the start of the events that were intended to shatter Lebanon.

[Question] Your statements about coexistence among the various sects lead us to the question concerning guarantees. What are the guarantees?

[Sha'ban] Unification is the guarantee of security for the Christians in Lebanon generally and in the north in particular because the Unification Movement is not a party but the Muslims themselves. Unification brings no ideas other than the Koran which recommends that all people be treated well. We still live with the Christians without finding a single Koran provision prohibiting us from coexisting with them. On the contrary, the Koran, which we consider the source of our legislation, urges us to treat those who live with us well. Therefore, there is no cause for this fear that emanates from the rumors spread by imperialism and its agents in order to cause social upheavals based on a fabricated fear.

[Question] When you were asked to release the kidnapped northerners, you set for the delegation that met you the condition that efforts be made with the Phalange to release your kidnapped people. What is intended by this demand?

[Sha'ban] We wanted to hand over the kidnapped persons but the kinsmen of our people who are kidnapped in the city threatened that if we took the kidnapped northerners away from them by force, they would resort to kidnapping others and would not tell us where they were kept. This is what made us approach the issue cautiously so that we might preserve the safety of the kidnapped and break the chain of kidnapping until we reached a just solution to the issue. This is why we made it clear to the delegation that met with us that their sons are safe. The delegation visited the kidnapped and heard from them that which pleased it. We assured the delegation that if it were not for the fear of mutual acts of violence, I would have released the kidnapped immediately.

[Question] You say that Tripoli has begun to experience the innovation of contact lines. If what was applied in Beirut previously, i.e., the positioning of observers on these lines to report who initiates the cease-fire violations, is applied in Tripoli, would you agree to such an arrangement?

[Sha'ban] We hope not to need such an arrangement and hope that the contact lines will be eliminated with the conviction of both sides. We do not want to complicate the matter and don't want to get accustomed to always bringing in a third party to arbitrate between us because this is what imperialism

wants, i.e., it wants to introduce its troops and the circles allied with it so as to impose its control and its domination over our country. We are prepared to eliminate the contact lines on our own, provided that the Lebanese and Arab sides pledge not to move their faction against another faction to dominate it.

[Question] In the wake of the formation of the national union cabinet, of the correction of the army situation and of the formulation of a complete security plan for Beirut, do you think that Beirut will experience what it has experienced in the past and would you be satisfied with transferring this plan to Tripoli?

[Sha'ban] We would like to see the outcome of what is happening on the ground. We believe that those formulating the security plan are not up to the level of the security [responsibility] because they are the inter-fighting parties. He who lacks something cannot give it. When those fighting each other draw up a security plan, then this means that they draw it up through their own ideas and that each of them wants the plan to serve him, not serve all. The Phalange have agreed to the plan because they are in power nowadays.

[Question] But Rashid Karami, Salim al-Huss, Walid Junblatt and Nabih Birri, who are among the symbols of Lebanon's political Islam, are in the government?

[Sha'ban] The 1943 charter divided the positions among the sects. But political Maronism has gained endless Islamic concessions. Lebanon's wars have always been an expression of wrath and an indication of the entrenched Maronite domination in Lebanon. The participation in the government of the people you have mentioned has not had a major impact on the course of affairs, and I say this with utter respect for all. What is the issue for which our ministers are working? The Maronites know that they want a Maronite Lebanon on the pretext that they fear for their future. This claim is, in our opinion, false because the Muslims have never threatened to evict the Christians. The Muslims are the ones threatened and they have been evicted from numerous areas. The percentage of evicted Muslims is more than 75 percent. Therefore, the presence of their excellencies the Muslim ministers with their various sects will not change the situation much.

Muhsin 'Id, the military official in charge of the Arab Knights of the Arab Democratic Party, has said: "Jabal Muhsin is not in conflict with the city of Tripoli or with others. On the contrary, we are Tripoli's original inhabitants. What happened in 1976 when alien fingers created sectarian problems was done so that the aliens alone may benefit from it. Throughout the past 10 years, these aliens have continued to sow sedition and division among the people to achieve a certain objective. They have constantly planted sectarian terror."

[Question] Some people in Tripoli accuse you of trying to dominate. Is this true?

['Id] All know that we are aware of the dimensions of our presence in Lebanon generally and in the north especially, particularly in Tripoli. The only thing we want from the State of Lebanon is our right, nothing more and nothing less. As Lebanese, we have a right in this homeland. We offer our blood, pay our taxes and perform all our duties toward the state. But the state has not fulfilled or recognized our rights, i.e., the rights of the Lebanese 'Alawite citizen.

[Question] What is the nature of the rights you demand from the State of Lebanon?

['Id] Our main demand is that we be represented in the parliamentary council because we are denied this right whereas all the other sects, regardless of how small, are represented in the council. If citizenship imposes on us duties toward the state, then this same citizenship gives us national rights. The simplest of these rights is the right to parliamentary representation. Moreover, the game of six for six repeated has denied us the right to employment in the public sector, keeping in mind that we have the required qualifications. There are jobs for which we believe we are more qualified than those to whom the sectarian game gives this right.

[Question] What about the Tripoli events and your role in them?

['Id] We have never at any time resorted to negativism to achieve our rights. We have no choice in Tripoli because all kinds of missiles are fired at us for no reason whatsoever and only for the purpose of terrorization, murder and destruction. In the face of this situation, we have to defend ourselves, and the right to self-defense is a legitimate right.

[Question] Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban accuses you of constantly violating the cease fire and of shelling Tripoli and says that he is compelled to retaliate.

['Id] We always express the wish and ask the political and economic organizations and leaderships and the Lebanese agencies, led by Prime Minister Karami, to deploy their observers to find out for certain who initiates the cease-fire violations and who abides by self-defense. Throughout 21 days, they launched against us an attack which extended from al-Shari' al-Jadid [new street] to al-Tabbanah. The statements made are the biggest proof of their actions. We did not instruct any of our fighters to move even a single step in the direction of Tripoli but rather instructed them just to defend themselves and repel the attacks.

[Question] Meaning that you approve the deployment of observers on the contact lines?

['Id] We have no objection whatsoever. This was our demand to begin with. Those who fear that they will be exposed are the ones who reject the idea of observers. We have no premeditated plans against anybody and we harbor nobody ill-will. Our objective is to live peacefully and securely while performing our duties and constantly demanding our rights.

[Question] Shaykh Sha'ban says that he pledges to eliminate the contact lines on his own and unilaterally if you pledge not to shell Tripoli and not to attack the Tripolitans. What is your reply?

['Id] To start with, we do not accept that Shaykh Sha'ban speaks in the name of Tripoli. We are the ones entitled to speak in the name of Tripoli because we are its original inhabitants whereas Shaykh Sha'ban is not from Tripoli and has no connection with it.

[Question] But he says that he speaks in the name of the Muslims?

['Id] We are also Muslims and we speak in their name. We demanded in the past what he is demanding now and we pledged to eliminate all the contact lines and all the earthen fortifications in return for not subjecting our dignity or our sons to harassment. With this demand of his, Shaykh Sha'ban is now repeating what we demanded in the past.

[Question] This means that you approve the security plan that will be drawn up for the north and Tripoli?

['Id] We support any security plan and support the legitimate government because we have no alternative to them.

[Question] The security plan to be drawn up means that the Lebanese army will take over control of affairs in the north and Tripoli. Do you agree to this?

['Id] Of course we agree to this plan and to the Lebanese army in particular because we are working for the legitimate Lebanese Government and not for any other circle opposed to this government.

[Question] Do you expect the plan for Greater Beirut to succeed completely, or will it, in your opinion, falter? And can what has been implemented in Beirut be implemented in Tripoli?

['Id] We are fully confident that President Hafiz al-Asad has closed the Lebanese dossier and has mobilized all the capabilities of the Arab Syria to help Lebanon in every sphere.

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SHI'ITE LEADER FADLALLAH VIEWS ISLAM, LIBERATION, GOVERNMENT

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pp 12-17

[Interview with Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, Shi'ite religious leader, by Jubran Tuwayni and Hashim Qasim: "AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI Conducts Frank Dialogue With Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah; Lebanon's Khomeyni Speaks: Muslim Lebanese Politicians Are Sectarian"; date and place not specified]

[Text] With the rise and growth of religious currents in the Middle East area and in Lebanon, the signs have increased and religious symbols and leaders have emerged to project their visions and to enter into and engage in the political game and in the existing conflicts through the broad and wide-open door, especially in the wake of the evident decline that has afflicted the liberal political experiment, which has collided with conventional structures and values, and in the wake of the attempt of the said experiment's endeavor to subjugate and exploit the conventional forces without making any effort to develop and enhance them.

In light of the blazing conflicts which take a sectarian turn at times and a religious turn at other times, matters have become muddled and intricate. However, the religious view as well as the sectarian views have declared themselves, assuming that they are the solution.

Scholar Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, one of the most prominent representatives of the religious current in Lebanon and one of those who adopt an option that is tantamount to a solution to the Lebanese problem, believes that the difference between religions is a difference in details and particulars and does not touch the essence.

What is interesting in Scholar Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah's interview with AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI is that he rejects and condemns sectarian action, parties and movements because they divide through their concepts, programs and acts. He also believes that the state, with its symbols, officials and institutions, has not mobilized all the Lebanese forces to liberate the soil.

Here is the text of the interview:

[Question] Your Eminence, let us speak frankly, first to clarify numerous issues to the readers and then to introduce you better. Some words are reiterated by some people who nickname you Lebanon's Khomeyni. What is your comment on this title?

[Answer] To start with, I believe that this word is an honor to a man when he rises up to its level because I understand the word Khomeyni to mean a man who proceeds in life from the position of his thought which is founded on Islam as a course for life and who faces the international, regional and local political reality from a frank position founded on protecting the people or protecting the nation from all the negative aspects in this obvious political reality. This is why we believe that Khomeyni tops the list of the leaders of freedom in the world, regardless of what some people say when discussing his thought or some of his modes of action. We cannot deny two facts: The first is that Khomeyni is a man who carries Islam from its message-oriented position, not from its narrow sectarian position, and a man who carries the message of freedom to all the powerless in the world, be they Muslims or non-Muslims. This is why I believe that this name honors the man who tries to emulate it. However, I do not consider myself up to this level but rather consider myself just a man who carries this thought which is the thought of Islam. I am not carrying this thought just now but have been carrying it for 30 years and I have written books in this regard. I live with the people. I lived in al-Nab'ah for 10 years and then lived in the south and the [southern] suburb. I am greatly worried by the injustice under which the people live as a result of the local, Israeli and imperialist reality. This is why I consider myself concerned with opposing this reality with the modest capabilities at my disposal and with the capabilities that the people possess for deliverance from this reality. We also carry Islam and live at the same time with the concern of freedom for all the Lebanese, both Muslims and Christians, and for the entire area.

[Question] Is this message of Islam the message of the thought of the political Islam or the message of the thought of the religious and sectarian Islam?

Complete Way of Life

[Answer] The truth is that we refuse to talk about Islam within a sectarian framework because sectarianism confines you to the framework but does not speak about anything concerning the content. We think of Islam as being beyond the Western concept formulated for religion, namely the concept that says that religion is just an ethical relationship between people and just a relationship of worship between man and his creator. We understand Islam as a complete program for life. This is not a new understanding. When we observe Islamic legislation and Islamic jurisprudence which try to deal with all the personal, social and political issues concerning man, we realize that Islam represents a complete program for life, not just a theory. We realize this on the basis of the political events which have taken place in the area for the past 50 or more years, for example. No, we believe that studying Islamic legislation, not just its philosophical and intellectual aspects, confirms that Islam is not just something that lives in the mosque

or in the conscience but something that lives in life. The mosque is a starting point for man to cleanse himself spiritually so that he may perform his role in life from a pure position. The same goes for worship which links man to God so that he may mingle with life through God and may move in life from a position of responsibility and not from a selfish position. It is on this basis that we proceed in our understanding of the political thought of Islam. It is an understanding emanating from the position that Islam is an intellectual program for life, exactly the same as the other intellectual programs for life. Consequently, we do not make a distinction in our understanding of Islam between what is religious and what is political.

[Question] You have stated that Islam is a program [manhaj]. Don't you think that the word way [nahj] is sounder and means that Islam is a creed, a law and a system of life and not a philosophical vision? In the past, Islam was present in the people's life. Today, Islam is remote from the international development that has taken place, whether at the level of forces or the level of economic systems and technological development. Islam, as a law, a creed and a system, seems as if it were outside life. There is more of a spiritual and ideological embracing of Islam than there is a presence of Islam in life. You are trying to return Islam to the reality whereas Islam has departed from the reality. You are an Islamic political movement, not a purely religious movement.

[Answer] When I say that Islam is a creed and a law that emanates from a philosophical view, it is well known that philosophy is derived from intrinsic contemplation. It may also be derived from studying the nature of the given facts found in religion, in books or in history. As to what you have said about Islam being remote from life at the level of the state's technology and the level of freedom, this is true. But Islam has not moved far from life insofar as the individual is concerned. We in the Islamic societies find that we have a continuation of the Islamic creed and the Islamic practice in all transactions and relations, not only in personal affairs but also in purchase, lease and mortgage transactions. They are natural and spontaneous practices that have not moved far from people's ordinary life. The ordinary man has his concern, meaning that when he is afflicted with a problem, he asks: What is the rule of Islam on this issue? We say that Islam has not moved away from the individual's life, but rather the contrary. We have before us the results of the political movement of Islam in the people's life. These results have not emanated from the void but have rather emerged from the depth of the Islamic identity which lives in man's soul and which always causes man to worry when faced with non-Islamic situations in the reality under which he lives. Therefore, we say that projecting Islam as a way of life in Islamic society will deal with the problem of duality from which man suffers, considering that the Shari'ah [Islamic law] represents something sacred in his life. The Islamic system of government provides a solution to a problem existing in reality.

Lebanon and Islamic State

[Question] Isn't this in contradiction with the current makeup of Lebanon [al-tarkibah al-lubnaniyah]?

[Answer] This is true. However, there is a certain point. Sometimes we speak of the idea and other times we speak of the movement of the idea, regardless of whether the movement assumes a religious quality or some other quality. We believe that the makeup of Lebanon does not permit under the present circumstances anything called an Islamic system of government or an Islamic state in Lebanon. Any man who thinks differently under the objective circumstances existing in the arena is either an idealist or a dreamer. Islam, like any other way of thought, cannot survive with coercion, force or violence. To move at the Islamic level, you must proceed from a base that is open intellectually, spiritually and politically to Islam so that the Islamic system of government may be a natural result of this openness. At present, when we proceed in Lebanon with Islam from an intellectual position, we live Islam as a religion and as a way of life within the Islamic framework in which we live our personal, individual and social lives. At the same time, we call the others to Islam, considering that the creator of any idea invites others to adopt it. Our call is made in civilized ways--"and debate with them in the kindest manner." I believe that the Islamic projection on the issue of dialogue is more advanced than any other projection in the world because the world projection says: "My opinion is right, with the possibility of being wrong, and the opinion of the others is wrong, with the possibility of being right." Islam says: "And I and you are on all matters equal." You must believe that you stand at an equal level with the others. This makes it possible for us to speak to all people: with the atheists, with the Christians, with the Jews and with anyone with an open heart and without any intellectual complex. If the others are convinced of our thought, then the reality under which man lives with conviction provides the opportunity for another qualitative step in the process of correcting this reality.

[Question] And if he is not convinced?

[Answer] Then there can be no coercion in religion. I will then coexist with him. When you want to crystallize any thought in the world, the natural circumstances for its crystallization must be present. You cannot crystallize it through consensus. If we wanted consensus, then there would not be any opportunity for any thought to rule the world. Naturally, we rule through the majority and through prevalent public opinion. Then the minority, any minority, demands the protection of its humanity and its freedom from the majority. This is natural.

[Question] You have said that it must be ideal thinking?

[Answer] If we overlook the objective circumstances.

[Question] Ideal thinking means an aspiration or a goal, meaning that whoever thinks of transforming Lebanon into an Islamic state is an idealist in his thinking?

[Answer] Insofar as idealistic thinking versus realistic thinking is concerned, there is a difference between idealism as a value and idealism as a way of thinking that seeks to live within the framework of the reality. The

latter expression is a philosophical expression. We say that we are realistic, meaning that we move and project ideas within the framework of the objective circumstances existing in the arena. When this is impossible, we project other ideas and consider them an advanced step toward achieving the objective by civilized means that do not nullify man's humanity or his freedom.

[Question] You have spoken about the majority. Are you demanding that a public referendum be held on these issues?

[Answer] I believe that the people must achieve the present and future life they want to live. We do not consult people on whether Islam is a right or not. This is something in which we believe. We consult people on all their present and future issues. We feel that the Lebanese reality is not a popular reality but rather a reality imposed from above. This is why we believe that the people must be vigilant and that there must be a public referendum on all the issues raised.

[Question] You say from above. What do you mean by this?

[Answer] I mean by "from above" the elite that plans for the country from the position of the political reality that has imposed planning from above. For example, the 1943 charter in Lebanon was achieved through consent among political leaderships as a result of a certain circumstance emanating from a choice between two things: either remain under the French Mandate or reach a settlement. We consider the 1943 charter a settlement on which the people were not consulted. But this point was swept aside on the grounds that the charter was the lesser of the two evils. Thus, we consider the Lebanese reality an undemocratic reality, meaning that the rule is not a popular rule because we notice that there is in Lebanon a certain class, regardless of whether it is Christian or Muslim, that tries to control the political game in this country and that, in many cases, defaces the image of the people.

[Question] Had you been involved in the 1943 decision, what would you have chosen for Lebanon?

[Answer] The fact is that I do not have a clear idea of the delicate circumstances undergone by the country at that time. Naturally, we would choose not to stay under the mandate. But when we choose something, we choose it under its own circumstance, considering that if we overcome the circumstance, then we would move differently.

[Question] Do you think that the charter of the new Lebanon must be founded on the numerical majority or on an equal distribution among the sects?

[Answer] I have chosen a different phrase which, though somewhat literary, reflects the meaning. I choose the phrase the "Lebanon of the human distribution." Human means that man lives in it as a human being, the same as in the other countries. I do not understand such a thing as Lebanon's special position and I do not understand the sensitivities which I consider to be a big lie and a big illusion. I believe that we are people like other people

who think, who disagree with each other and who have different affiliations. This is why I say that man in Lebanon should live his humanity and should choose through this humanity the system he wants, the thought he wants and the political reality he wants. But to come to one man and say, for example, you are allowed everything while others are not allowed anything, then herein lies the secret of the Lebanese problem throughout history. I say that the Lebanese situation that is founded on sectarian distribution will hurl us into a new war every 10 years or so. Despite the security situation that is perplexing everybody and despite the explosions, I have told people in a number of Friday sermons that we must be patient and must endure pain to achieve the new situation so as to spare ourselves 100,000 victims every 10 years.

Fear

[Question] Throughout the past 40 years, the Muslims have been afraid of the Christians because the Christians have been in control of the decisionmaking and the Christians have been afraid that the decisionmaking would move to the hands of the Muslims who would monopolize it, with the Christians thus becoming subjects living in a Muslim country. What do you say?

[Answer] The elements of fear are present in one form or another in all countries of the world. There is a majority and a minority in every country of the world and all disputing factions fear something. Democracy is partisan life and every party out of power is possessed by fear insofar as the ruling party's actions are concerned. However, there are in some countries of the world controls that limit this fear. Such controls perhaps don't exist in the Third World countries. This is the special characteristic distinguishing the Third World. The problem of fear and counterfear is a human problem that may vary in intensity and in discussion. But what is projected in Lebanon is that the problem of the Christians is a problem of fear in the big Islamic ocean existing in the area, thus cancelling their role and presence. The problem of the Muslims in Lebanon is that they have come to live in a state of fear on the grounds that the Christians are in control of the decision-making and that, therefore, they exploit the humanity of the Muslims. The truth is that the solution does not lie in sectarian distribution. At present, we are in favor of anything that leads us out of the state of Israeli military and political pressure and out of the state of lost security. But when you want to think of the future, you must think of the roots of the problem. Does the Lebanese problem emanate from mutual fear between the Muslims and the Christians? The problem lies in an unbalanced system of government and in an uneven government in the area. So far, we don't feel the presence of a big problem for the Christians in our area, for example. There are the problems of the Copts in Egypt and there are problems in Iraq and Syria. This is normal but it is not a problem that defeats coexistence and defeats freedom. True, it is a problem that complicates life. But you do not tackle a problem with another problem. We are dealing with the Christian problem by creating a new problem among the Muslims. This is the reality in Lebanon. Let us speak objectively. A feeling of being done a total injustice has now developed among the Muslims and it is similar to the feeling of the colonized toward the colonist. This feeling that there

is a dominant faction and a powerless faction is interacting internally and will provide the opportunity to all the external elements [to intervene] and you will not be able to stop them because when you live under a certain condition and do not feel intrinsically strong and when you feel that the others seek support from the outside world, then you are doomed to seek support from the outside world. This reality that exists in Lebanon makes every sect an independent state with its interests, privileges, conditions and relations and thus we will continue to be ruled by others for 1,000 more years and the issues of liberty will turn into mere balloons in the air. We say that the action for the future lies in enlightenment.

We use the words Muslim and Christian, empty them of their meaning and fill them with rancor and hatred. In what way do the Christians want to preserve their existence--as a tribe, as a set of values, as a way of thought or as a way of life?

[Question] As a way of thought?

[Answer] Good. The Christians as a way of thought in Christianity or the Christians as a way of thought in materialistic Europe? There is a connection between the reality of the Christians here and the reality of the Christians in Europe. In Europe, the Christian way of life does not exist. In Europe, a man is either an atheist or a secularist. You notice that LE MONDE objected to the pope's actions when the pope visited France. France is secular and atheistic. There are faithful Christians in Europe and America. But the situation in Europe, the European values and the values held by the Lebanese Christians are not the values of true Christianity but rather the values of materialistic Europe. If the Christians want to preserve the Christian faith and values, then let them make themselves clear. There is a Christian faith, Christian values and a Christian course of life. This faith can--and this comes within the framework of missionary work--stand face to face with the Muslim faith so that their adherents may engage in a totally free dialogue, as Christians and Muslims engage in dialogue on other things.

Morally, Christian values are reflected in the individual's personality as a human being and in the movement of his relations. I don't think that these values are far from the values of Islam generally. Yes, there are particular characteristics existing in Christianity and particular characteristics existing in Islam. Christianity as a way of life has no law and no legislation and this is why it believes that it has nothing to do with the arena of evaluation [al-taqyim]. Christianity accepts any law issued, not in its capacity as Christianity but in its capacity as an institution that says we have nothing to do with this law and it is something over which we have no power. Thus, Christianity is not in conflict with Islamic legislation except for some issues that pertain to personal relationships such as bigamy and divorce. We are exerting efforts to change man so that he may think objectively. This is what we seek. We feel that this is very difficult to achieve with a sermon, with advice, with a speech or by forming a party, a movement or something else. We must plan for this objective. There may be phases. We may encounter a crisis in some cases. With us,

the solution lies in overcoming the crisis. There is a difference between overcoming a crisis temporarily and finding a solution to the problem.

Solution in Lebanon

[Question] But where is the solution to the problem?

[Answer] The solution to Lebanon's problem lies in establishing in Lebanon a system of government that views man through nothing other than his humanity.

[Question] In other words?

[Answer] In the sense that as a human being, I have my rights to my particular characteristics and my general characteristics.

[Question] By abolishing political sectarianism?

[Answer] You may use this phrase, i.e., abolish the political barriers that create in one man complexes against another.

[Question] The presidency of the republic belongs, by tradition, to the Maronites. Do you consider that this arrangement is supposed to remain within the solution or do you demand its abolition?

[Answer] There isn't in Lebanon a faction that possesses any of its positions according to man's reality in Lebanon. We cannot understand why the presidency of the republic should be for the Maronites, the premiership for the Sunna and the Chamber of Deputies' speakership for the Shi'ites. What is the human intellectual and political condition under which we live? Why shouldn't the presidency of the republic belong to the Orthodox or the Catholics? I do not want to enter into this labyrinth and I do not wish to talk about this issue from a position of political instigation. I am speaking in human terms. The issue is one of the fear of the Christians. Then why the Maronites? If the issue is, in the view of those who think in this manner, an issue of the Christians, then let them make the presidency for the Christians. Why the Maronites? The Maronites are not different from the others insofar as the Christian faith generally is concerned. The Maronites may have a special tribal characteristic, meaning that they are one of the Christian tribes. Why should they monopolize everything?

We know that there are Christians who are called "persecuted Shi'ites," as the political language says. I know that the Orthodox are persecuted more severely. If we want to think with an open mind, then we should question. But questioning is forbidden because of "Lebanon's special position."

Weapons and Deception

[Question] There is a reality, namely the 1943 Lebanon is a Lebanon of equality among the sects so that we may split an equal percentage of shares. After 1943, the situation did not improve. Rather, fear became a

common denominator among the Christians and the Muslims. What is to be done now? Who decides? What formula? Democracy? Are you for the democracy of sects or the democracy of man?

[Answer] You have kindly pointed out that instead of improving on the 1943 charter, we have retreated. Why have we retreated? Because we considered the 1943 charter a sacred and untouchable charter and considered the constitution untouchable. Thus, the citizen has been raised with a backward political mentality and we have been able to focus, arouse and deepen in this citizen the sectarian instincts that create a dangerous situation.

Fear and counterfear create a perplexing situation that solves nothing. Those speaking for the Christians do not represent the Christian worker, intellectual and merchant. Those who speak for the Christians represent the political princes, the sons of the political princes, their companions and their followers. Let us all lift our hands from the citizen and we will then find that the Christians are not as afraid as they are depicted as being. I lived with the Christians for 10 years. I lived in al-Nab'ah and used to go to the eastern precincts. I lived with the situation of the Muslims and the Christians. The Muslims were the workers in the Christians' factories in the area. I had meetings with Christian intellectuals and merchants and I did not really feel the presence of a Christian-Islamic complex among the people, except for what people remembered from history and for a few cases existing here and there.

But how can Lebanon be restored after the war? It is enough to open the crossing points to see how the Lebanese live with each other. The Muslim has no complex insofar as going to the eastern area and working with the Christians is concerned. But he has been afraid of the roadblocks, and this is also the situation for the Christian. The problem is not that the Muslim does not want to work for the Christian or vice versa. The problem lies in the acts of kidnapping perpetrated by this or that side. If we eliminate from the people's life a certain class of armed and deceptive men, then I guarantee that the Lebanese can coexist, rather live together and engage in dialogue without any hatred. Emigration means a protest against the reality existing internally.

Islam in Government

[Question] Do you think that your Islam is being implemented by those who represent Islam in the government?

[Answer] No, I don't believe that my Islamic thought is the thought of those who are in the government. From my knowledge of the history of the Christian politicians, I find that they are traditionalists and atheists. They go [to church] but do not carry the Christian faith [in their hearts]. These politicians have not truly confronted the outcome of the moral coup that has taken place on the basis of the Christian faith. I also don't believe that the Muslims present in the Islamic political arena think along Western or Marxist lines or think along Islamic lines. To them, Islam is a sectarian and tribal affiliation. We want to bring the Lebanese citizen

out of this situation. When you, as a Christian, don't think of Christian values in your dealings with me, then you pose a danger to me. The same goes for the Muslim's dealings with the Christian. Our danger emanates from the fact that we have charged the train with hatred and have abandoned the true image of religion. The talk about cultural multiplicity makes me feel that the phrase is somewhat trivial. Christian culture means acting on the basis of that which is Christian, namely on the basis of faith in God and of a culture that emanates from God. Being influenced by cultures does not mean cultural multiplicity but rather means a cultural cocktail.

[Question] What is your opinion of a society where Christians embrace Islamic political thought?

[Answer] Let the Christians proceed on the basis of their Christian thought to meet with Islamic political thought.

I have a complex against the Muslim ruler who does not rule justly among the people. The Christian officials in Lebanon bless all kinds of America's persecution of the liberties of peoples and they have no complex against Israel's persecution of the inhabitants of the south. We are not against the European and Western culture in all its details. We differ in our method of thinking. European culture is founded on a materialist base. However, I do want to take advantage of the scientific progress achieved in Europe, the United States, the West and the East. Science is human. It is not European, American, Islamic or Christian. Western culture was founded on certain intellectual bases with which we disagree.

[Question] Christian thought separates church and state?

[Answer] This is natural in Christian thought.

[Question] But you are telling the Christian that you advocate an Islamic policy and want him to accept you?

[Answer] An open-minded Islamic policy, i.e., a policy that reconciles the sectarian with the intellectual. I want the Christian to understand that I think of policy from the Islamic angle.

[Question] Meaning that you separate the Islamic religion from the Islamic state?

[Answer] Islam is, by its nature, a state.

[Question] This is the contradiction.

[Answer] On the contrary, there is no contradiction. I tell the Christian: You separate the church from the state because you have no legislation, so why do you have a complex toward my shari'a?

[Question] The Christian believes that the revealed shari'a is rigid.

[Answer] Let us discuss rigidity. Is the shari'a rigid and is it incapable of progress? We say that there are flexible rules in the Islamic interpretation that guarantee tackling all the issues of development in a manner that ensures man's interest. Development is of two kinds: the development of life through the nature of the movement of life and development emanating from the presence of a predominant thought. What I mean is that if Marxism prevails and the country's movement turns into a Marxist movement, you cannot tell me to develop because my thought is rigid and is not developing with the movement of life that has become Marxist. The fact is that it is the movement of Marxism in life through the elements of force. There is a difference between your being the advocate of thought who tackles the problems of life from the position of his thought and your creating development for the benefit of an idea that has imposed itself and considered itself one of the links of development. The world is moving nowadays on the basis of capitalist thought. Communist thought, regardless of how much it expands, represents a limited corner in the world. Communist thought is rigid because it develops in the Marxist manner.

[Question] There is, in your opinion, capitalist thought, Marxist thought, communist thought and Islamic thought?

[Answer] Marxist thought is communist thought. Marxism and communism are moving against the existing line of life. We do not want to ask Islam to develop for the benefit of Western culture, which is the antithesis of Islam. This culture has developed the world in one way and Islam wants to develop the world in a different way.

[Question] So you consider Islamic thought a political idea?

[Answer] Islam is a course of life that moves politically through its values.

[Question] You are demanding that the state apply Islamic thought on the ground. What thought and what course do you want now?

[Answer] The state has not been applying anything, not Marxism and not liberalism. It is applying the tribal situation taken from here and there. Why? Because Lebanon was not intended to be a state. They wanted Lebanon to achieve privileges for a certain sect within the framework of the state, namely the Maronite sect. This is why I demand that a referendum be conducted among the non-Maronite Christians so that they may express their opinion on whether this state represents their aspirations, their humanity and their Christianity or not.

[Question] If the Christians come without a referendum and say that they don't want Lebanon to follow the Islamic course or thought, would you accept this non-Maronite Christian opinion or would you demand that a referendum be held for all the Lebanese people to choose a political course for Lebanon?

[Answer] I do not tackle problems in this manner. The Lebanese people must be given the opportunity to express their opinions freely and each faction must accept and debate the thought of the other faction objectively. Agreement can be reached on a temporary formula while the dialogue continues. These problems are not solved with a referendum. I say temporarily until we agree on the very big future formula. Let the system of government in Lebanon be as humanitarian as it is in any countries of the world. The Lebanese can then proceed to discuss all the issues as they are discussed in all countries where there are different opinions. We must put all the political princes on an island in the sea and let the Lebanese discover their humanity. As long as these princes are present, the slogan of freedom and all other slogans are futile.

[Question] Are you for having a political party for Islam?

[Answer] In fact, I personally feel that Islam must live in the open air. I do not believe in the partisan framework for Islamic action. One may need to organize its capabilities. It is not necessary that the organization take the form of a Western-style party (cells, officials and so forth). We believe in Islam on the basis that it should be the people's thought and life.

[Question] Do you support the formation of a legal Islamic party?

[Answer] Let Islam be left for Islam and let intellectual and political Islam have the freedom to move in the open air so that it may express itself freely. We can then move with the others from the position of mutual respect.

[Question] Ultimately, you are the advocate of a call for revolution?

[Answer] By civilized means.

[Question] Meaning?

[Answer] With wisdom. Islam does not contain the word revolution. Man is the maker of changes and he, not economics, race or anything else, is the basis of change. We only consider one factor: man. If man changes, the reality changes. Man is the maker of the reality.

[Question] You are for a humane revolution?

[Answer] I am for the Islamic humane revolution that wants to bring about change by civilized means. I proceed from the Islamic idea which says that when you want to win over a man, you should win over his thought with means that give him the impression that you respect his thought to enter his heart before you enter his mind. I believe in turning our enemies into friends. You cannot turn your enemy into a friend with the rifle. Yes, if your enemy wants to abolish your existence and your humanity, then the primitive means is to confront him with that with which he confronts you. Kindness in tackling issues is the basic condition whereas violence is a

transient condition. When an imperialist country does not understand dialogue, then you cannot reach an understanding with it through dialogue and you try to face it with the suitable means.

[Question] If we want to find titles for the plans projected in Lebanon, what would you call the current Lebanese State Plan?

[Answer] I have already said the tribal state.

[Question] What is your opinion of the plan of the Phalange and the Lebanese Forces?

[Answer] Racism.

[Question] What if we take Nabih Birri's and Amal's plan?

[Answer] Sectarian.

[Question] Walid Junblatt's plan?

[Answer] Sectarian.

[Question] The Sunna plan in Beirut?

[Answer] In fact, you cannot determine the presence of a plan in the Sunna movement.

Sha'ban

[Question] Do you think that your thought agrees with Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban's thought?

[Answer] In the nature of the thought, yes. But we differ in the means of the thought.

[Question] Do you think that the thought of the Sunna Muslims in Lebanon can meet with your Islamic political thought?

[Answer] There is a movement within the Sunna with which I meet intellectually. I am not working for the Shi'ites only.

[Question] Have you met with Christians and been able to discuss your ideas with them?

[Answer] The truth is that I have not been successful in holding numerous meetings. There was an invaluable meeting with Bishop Gregoire Haddad but I have not had the opportunity to meet with many Christian brothers.

[Question] Are you optimistic or pessimistic regarding Lebanon's future?

[Answer] In fact, I do not concern myself with optimism or pessimism. What determines optimism or pessimism insofar as the future of Lebanon is concerned is the nature of the developments in the regional, local and international situation. We create the instruments, means and atmosphere of optimism and pessimism.

[Question] You have already spoken of the regional situation. Do you think that there is a conspiracy against Lebanon? What is its objective and who is its initiator?

[Answer] The word conspiracy is a disturbing word. Through its strategy, Israel is thinking of expanding politically and geographically at the area's expense. Israel is thinking of becoming the European oasis in the area and it wants to eliminate Lebanon's role in services and tourism. This is why we consider Israel's schemes in Lebanon a kind of conspiracy. There may be other regional forces that have expansionist interests and ambitions in Lebanon. This is not evident in the strategy but is perhaps evident in the political background of these forces. In Israel, there is an expansionist strategy. In the other regional areas, there are ambitions, ideas and fear of Lebanon. However, the Israeli danger is the main danger. To us, the Israeli danger is a danger of survival whereas the other dangers are political dangers.

[Question] How do you evaluate the policies concerning the occupied Lebanese territories?

[Answer] I believe that the state is not seriously concerned with the issue of liberation. There is a crisis which the state wants to overcome with propaganda and with some exhibitionary issues. A state concerned with the occupied territories must fight, not with weapons but by helping the occupied territories to stand fast. It must set up an emergency budget and it must not approach the south's budget the way it approaches the municipal budgets. A state concerned with the liberation issue thinks of how to embarrass the enemy. The state must create a political climate that embarrasses the enemy--a military operation carried out by an army unit in any way possible to embarrass Israel before the world. The 17 May accord was born to be abolished. It was meant to be born so as to brighten Israel's image on the one hand and to give the Lebanese regime the opportunity to emerge from the crisis in a certain way. Abolition of the 17 May accord has diverted our attention from all political and economic reform. As for the position of the other political forces, besides the state, it is a propaganda position insofar as the occupied territories are concerned. Regrettably, the issue of liberation in Lebanon is an exhibitionary and propaganda issue and not a real issue. Those who make statements are numerous and those who collect money to overcome their internal financial problems are numerous. Open-minded and nonsectarian Islam has been able to put itself in the position of liberation in every sense of the word.

[Question] Does liberation come before unification or vice versa?

[Answer] We do not want to sink in the maelstrom. We will unite only through liberation.

BRIEFS

FRANJIYAH-SALAM POLITICAL AXIS--High-level Lebanese political circles wonder about the possibility of the creation in Lebanon of a new political axis that will be closer to opposition than to loyalty. This wondering emerged in the wake of a meeting between ex-President Sulayman Franjiyah and ex-Prime Minister Sa'ib Salam in Ihdin--a meeting which was considered "one of the steps to unify the efforts" of the two Lebanese leaders prior to forming some sort of "opposition front." It is well known that Franjiyah and Salam have expressed reservations in the makeup of Rashid Karami's cabinet. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 391, 18 Aug 84 p 13] 8494

CSO: 4404/632

'ARAFAT ON PLO-ARAB RELATIONS, EGYPT'S RETURN TO ARAB RANKS

Beirut AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 382, 27 Aug-2 Sep 84
pp 22-29

[Interview with Yasir 'Arafat, PLO chairman, by Jubran Tuwayni, Wadi' al-Hilu and Walid al-Qazzi: "In Interview With AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Which He Acknowledges Mistakes and Reveals Important Secrets, 'Arafat Says: 'West Has Officially Recognized Maronite and Druze Cantons''"; in Tunis, date not specified]

[Excerpts] Tunis--[Question] The Lebanese say that the Palestinian resistance was a state within a state. Do you consider these words true?

[Answer] Let me tell you frankly how matters developed. In 1973, the Verdun crime which resulted in the death of three Palestinian leaders took place. Until that day, we were forbidden from posting special guard. Then the air raids against the refugee camps took place and because of those raids, we were compelled to begin fortifying the camps against air raids. This decision came with the approval of the Lebanese officials and government and with a resolution issued by the Arab League. The financing for the fortification effort was Arab. There is no doubt that the shelters we were able to build saved many lives from the brutal raids on the camps, beginning with al-Rashidiyah camp in the south and ending with Nahr al-Barid camp in the north. All our camps were open to the Israeli Air Force. This effort raised numerous questions among some people: Why are they fortifying the camps? Why are they posting guards around the leaderships? These issues developed with time and with the escalation of the Israeli military action which forced us to wage separate military battles in the south and to bring in weapons to protect our bases. Those weapons were not only Palestinian but also Arab and they were introduced with the approval of the Lebanese Government, as in the case of the missiles which were placed in the camps, for example, to repel the brutal attacks. I am saying these things just to remind some people.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, this Lebanese side of the Palestinian situation does not explain the whole truth, does not explain the escalation in the war and does not explain the results reached by all the people. All the people have emerged losers, including the Palestinian resistance.

[Answer] Official Lebanon approved of arming the camps.

[Question] If Abu 'Ammar were in the place of official Lebanon and if the Lebanese people were in the place of the Palestinian people, i.e., if we reversed the roles, what would Abu 'Ammar's position be?

[Answer] The position would be that I would share both good and bad with these people because one cannot ignore history or geography and cannot shed his skin.

I believe that Lebanon should have fought the Israeli enemy and should not have acted as if it had nothing to do with the Arab-Israeli conflict. On the ground, we are the same but at the official level, we are not. You cannot escape the fact that you are a part of the Arab League and of the Arab nation and the neighbor of this Israeli enemy who is devouring the Arab area and trying to control it.

Arab Failure

[Question] Since independence and up to the present time, Lebanon has not possessed the military force with which it can fight. Even though such enormous forces do exist in the Arab countries, they have not been able to fight the Israeli forces.

[Answer] So as not to saddle the Lebanese Government with all the responsibility, let us say that what has happened in Lebanon is a part of the Arab failure. This is why attacks were launched against Lebanon and were met with no more than an Arab protest or, at best, with good words, as in the case of the latest invasion in which an Arab capital was blockaded for 88 days and when the Arab world did not lift a finger to help. Is this reasonable?

[Question] Is it your assessment that the Lebanon war would not have taken place if the Arabs had moved?

[Answer] What happened in Lebanon is not a Lebanese responsibility but a Palestinian responsibility. At the beginning, there was a mammoth conspiracy which we pointed out. If we refer to the documents found in the downed aircraft of the Israeli assistant chief of staff, we find that these documents state that Egypt must be taken out of the arena of the Arab-Israeli conflict--this is what happened in Camp David--and that the eastern area must be divided on a sectarian basis so as to gain control over it. The question is: Where does the process of controlling the eastern area begin? The most convenient spot is Lebanon because striking Lebanon achieves more than one goal for Israel. Striking Lebanon means striking the Palestinian revolution that has gathered in it. Lebanon is the Arab economic center. Lebanon is considered the Arab bank in the area. Consequently, all the monies flowing to the Arab nation through Lebanon have been dealt a blow. For the sectarian scheme to begin, Israel has found that Lebanon, on the basis of its historical reality since 1860 and on the basis of the Arab situation (which I call the bad Arab times), is where it can

touch off the sectarian conflict. It has been 2 years since we departed from Lebanon. Have solutions been found for the situation in Lebanon? We all should have realized that the objective was for us to fight each other and to become a sight for the others to watch, with all of us paying the price.

We Have Fought Each Other

[Question] These are calm and sensible words that come in the wake of the war. But after 20 years of resistance, is there an evaluation of this phase and of your experience in Lebanon? What are the grave mistakes committed by the resistance in Lebanon?

[Answer] An evaluation does not deal with mistakes only. An evaluation is tantamount to the outcome of the action at the Lebanese, Palestinian, Arab and international levels in light of the premeditated conspiracy. I, the chairman of the PLO which is a part of the Arab nation and a member of the Arab League, cannot separate these issues from one another, or else the evaluation remains deficient. Insofar as the Palestinian action is concerned, I cannot say that I have nothing to do with Camp David. Camp David has had a direct impact, just as the Lebanon war has had a direct impact on me and just as the Arab movement has had a direct impact on me with its positive and negative features. I have made my mistakes. But there are also positive features that go along with these mistakes. If I have made my mistakes, then some of the Lebanese brothers have also made their mistakes. What is most important about these mistakes is that they caused us to fight each other and to disregard the big conspiracy. If you ask me about my fundamental criticism, I will say that this is my biggest sin because it has posed danger to both sides. Let me cite some examples. Until our departure from Lebanon, we as Palestinians were accused of going along with the so-called plot of assimilation. The Lebanese did not believe that we had nothing to do with the plot until the Israeli invasion took place. They then realized that there is no alternative homeland. We have paid the cost of the phrase "alternative homeland" in propaganda, military and national losses. There is no alternative homeland. The objective is to slaughter both of us, [Lebanese and Palestinians]. After the Israeli invasion, the Lebanese began to believe that the Israeli does not want to depart from either al-Litani or from south Lebanon.

They said that we created a state within a state. We asked that the Lebanese Army be sent to protect the camps but they said: The army has nothing to do with protecting the camps because they are a Palestinian affair.

[Question] Who said this? Was it the Lebanese Government?

[Answer] The successive governments. Therefore, when the issue was presented to the Arab summits and it was agreed to fortify the camps and to build shelters in them, Arab weapons were delivered. Libyan weapons were delivered to us and to the Lebanese Army to defend the camps. Other Arab weapons were also delivered to us and to the Lebanese Army. The Israelis

focused on these camps to destroy them and the Israeli air and sea raids and commando operations resulted in massacres. Entire camps, such as al-Nahabityah camp, were wiped out. We must not forget the position of the Lebanese official who accepted the Arab and Palestinian weapons because daily massacres were perpetrated in the camps as a result of the constant Israeli attacks on the camps of Burj al-Shamali, 'Ayn al-Hulwah and al-Miyah Wa Miyah.

There was Israeli military pressure on the Palestinians and, consequently, on the Lebanese. Meanwhile, the Arabs were feeding us kind words. The Arab position was incapable of putting a stop to the Israeli actions. I would like to remind you that a resolution was adopted by the Arab League in 1979 prohibiting use of Lebanese territories for military operations. If we refer to the reports of the UN forces deployed in the south, we find that they say that the Palestinians refrained from using Lebanese territories in their military operations and that these reports do not register a single act launched from Lebanese territories against Israel.

[Question] Does this apply to all the Palestinian factions?

[Answer] All the Palestinian factions. You know that I fought a number of factions when they tried to violate the resolution. My best officers were killed in those operations. Despite this, the invasion of Lebanon came as a result of the wounding of an Israeli diplomat in London. We later discovered that the man called Abu Nidal has links with some elements of the Mosad (the Israeli intelligence). Israel launched its premeditated invasion in the wake of that incident. You know that Israeli liberalism permits the exposure of secrets. These words were said 2 years after the Israeli invasion, which had been approved by some Lebanese circles. This is no secret. It has been revealed by Israel and by a number of Lebanese officials. I said during the Beirut blockade: Leave Palestine's reins for bargaining [as published]. "You get out and we will manage by ourselves," [they said]. These words are recorded in the minutes of sessions.

[Question] Who said this?

[Answer] I do not want to name names because I do not want to embarrass anybody.

[Question] Did these words come from the allies of the resistance?

[Answer] No, these words came from the authority through political and military officials.

[Question] Did they come from a government official?

[Answer] I will name no names. I am speaking of the authority. I said: "Bargain over me." The answer was: "You get out and we will manage by ourselves." What is more, the side that objected to our going to the north was the Lebanese Government. When speaking of the history of this relationship, I am against the "unruly" Palestinian who used to set up a roadblock in Tall al-Za'tar and demand an identity card. Those elements were inserted to act

against me and against the revolution. I arrested and jailed many of them. I am not the one who violated the 59 cease-fire resolutions. Those who violated them were inserted elements from both sides.

[Question] Inserted by whom?

[Answer] I do not wish to point out anybody. May Abu Hasan (Salamah) rest in peace. In the final cease-fire resolution, we agreed to deploy an Arab force from al-Mansuriyah to Dahr al-Shuwayr. The agreement was signed by Abu Hasan and Iskandar al-Jumayyil who had met with me. Suddenly, the situation erupted in Tripoli and the north. When I say that we are both victims, my words are being proven now. I said these words but nobody believed me because an alien has no dignity in a [strange] homeland. I spoke of these things as of 1976. However, I wish to say something and let all the Lebanese be my witnesses.

Protecting Central Bank

[Question] All the Lebanese?

[Answer] All the Lebanese without any exception attest that I personally protected the Lebanese Central Bank with all its contents. My private guard took charge of protecting it. When the bank came under my control in 1976, I decided to let commanders from the Lebanese army and Lebanese security forces, political officials and the bank governor to come over [and resume control of the bank]. At the time, I did not permit anyone else to come close to the doors of the Central Bank. If I had intended Lebanon any evil, I would have let the bank go unprotected because there was nobody to compel me to protect the bank. I would have abandoned the bank to the highwaymen who were robbing the banks. There was an international Mafia.

[Question] Who was behind robbing the British Bank?

[Answer] I am telling you there was an international Mafia.

[Question] Why were you not able to control the situation at the time?

[Answer] I am not responsible for the banks and I could not deploy all my forces to guard them. God knows, and so do bank managers, how many banks I was able to protect. I secured guards for all the banks that asked me for protection, not just the Central Bank.

[Question] Millions were stolen from the British Bank and from Banko di Roma.

[Answer] Regrettably, I was not able to stop those operations in which an international Mafia participated with internal elements.

[Question] Who are these elements?

[Answer] I do not wish to embark on details insofar as this issue is concerned. But everything is registered in our official Palestinian documents.

[Question] Don't you think that an explanation of these matters will eliminate a lot of what has stuck in the minds of the Lebanese regarding the Palestinian issue so that we may not always accuse them of being a fifth column?

[Answer] I know them all and I don't want to embark on a quarrel with anybody, even if we are accused. The explanation will be made at the proper time. These elements are still present and we still have the documents. I have said this as an example. We did not deal in Lebanon with the sectarian logic. This is attested to us. The Palestinian revolution has been far from this logic. After we departed from Lebanon, it was proven how strongly we restrained this demon that has broken out of its bottle.

[Question] It is often said that you supported the Sunna and that this is why the Shi'ites did not respond to you. You were the army of the Sunna.

[Answer] No, this is not true. You know, and it is no secret, that I am personally in disagreement with Ibrahim Qulaylat. I do not wish to say that we represented an Arab army in Lebanon or that we were the only Arab army that fought honorably on every inch in Lebanon. We lost 162 martyrs in al-Awza'i area during the Israeli invasion.

[Question] But before that, there was a Palestinian army fighting a part of the Lebanese people.

[Answer] I wish Pierre al-Jumayyil and Camille Sham'un would publish the minutes of the sessions we had together. They have my permission to publish these minutes about the endeavor not to stop the war, not to find any solution to the war, and on our ceaseless efforts to reach a solution. We were confronted with rejection. I wish Abbot Nu'man and Abbot Qazzi would publish these minutes so that the Lebanese may find out if the Palestinians want or do not want to fight anybody in Lebanon.

Relationship With National Movement

[Question] How was the relationship between the Palestinian resistance and the National Movement during the war?

[Answer] Our relationship was very good.

[Question] In 1975-76?

[Answer] In that period, there was no National Movement. In 1982, there was a complete National Movement with its political council.

[Question] How would you describe these relations?

[Answer] They were the relations of allies in every sense of the word.

[Question] It has been attributed to you that you have linked a young Lebanese politician with the cantons in Lebanon.

[Answer] I have not accused anybody. So far, I have not singled out any Lebanese or Arab individual insofar as the sectarian issue is concerned. I have said that there is a sectarian plot and I have discussed this plot and its various chapters but I have not mentioned anybody by name.

I have said that the late Kamal Junblatt showed me a map and said: "Abu 'Ammar, I will be killed because I have rejected this offer." I made these statements in Yemen.

[Question] Did he tell you where he got the map?

[Answer] No. I was showing him some documents as my ally and he showed me what he had. These are some of the things we exchanged as friends and allies.

[Question] Do you think now that those who were your allies at the time of the Israeli invasion are still your allies in Lebanon?

[Answer] Yes. I am not influenced by some words said here or there.

[Question] How are the Palestinian revolution's relations with the Amal Movement, with the Islamic Unification Movement and with the Progressive Socialist Party?

[Answer] Our allies are our brothers. But the old picture has changed. If we were in Lebanon, the picture would be different. We are not present on the ground. They are fraternal relations and good-neighbor relations. Our kinsmen are still there.

South's Resistance

[Question] Is there a relationship between the Palestinian resistance and the national resistance in the south?

[Answer] I will refer you to what has been said by the Israeli Defense Army coordinator about the Palestinians having a fundamental role in what is happening in the south.

[Question] Do you agree with or deny what the Israeli official has said?

[Answer] The Lebanese people and the Palestinian people who are living under the Israeli occupation are fighting this occupation and this is their right.

[Question] Do you send military reinforcements?

[Answer] I encourage them with all the means at my disposal to fight the Israeli enemy.

[Question] What are the present means of encouragement?

[Answer] From the good word to the statement and what is in between.

[Question] Do you think that there is Palestinian-Lebanese coordination?

[Answer] Regardless of what was said in the past about the south being the alternative Palestinian homeland, the most magnificent outcome of the war is this present interaction. It is this interaction, not coordination, that has generated the most splendid war of attrition known to the modern history of the Arab nation against the Israeli enemy in the south.

[Question] Do you consider that you are participating effectively in this war?

[Answer] I consider that the Palestinians present in Lebanon are the ones participating. I am one of these people.

[Question] In your opinion, is this resistance enough to liberate the south?

[Answer] I warned sometime ago that if this resistance were not encouraged, the Israelis would have the means to control it. We, the Palestinians, are better aware of these means because they have been used against us in the West Bank and Gaza. Popular revolutionary action has its capacity but this capacity must be charged constantly. This resistance must be supported with money for the martyrs, for the homes that have been blown up and for the captives. Do you know that the Ansar detention camp has been reopened? It contains, on the admission of the Israelis, a total of 1,700 prisoners, including 1,400 Palestinians and 350 Lebanese [figures as published]. Are you aware that there are 1,750 families that need bread to eat? Aren't these prisoners sons or husbands? If this action is not encouraged and charged up, then I fear for it.

[Question] Hasn't the Palestinian resistance received the needed care, including money, international support and diplomatic movement?

[Answer] This is why the Palestinian resistance has waged the most glorious battles in our nation's modern history.

[Question] The resistance has waged the battle of Beirut, not of Jerusalem.

[Answer] Here, we disagree. The mountain battle is a part of the battle of Jerusalem. The Beirut blockade battle is a part of the Jerusalem battle. The Deversoir battle is a part of the battle of Jerusalem and the crossing of the canal is a part of the battle of Jerusalem.

[Question] But we are losing territory, Abu 'Ammar. With every battle we wage to regain territory, we lose more territory.

[Answer] Permit me. In the bad Arab times, the Lebanese and the Palestinians were left on their own. For the first time ever, the Israelis amassed themselves along a single front, namely the Lebanese front. In all the Israeli-Arab wars, the Israelis had to divide their forces. For the first time ever, they amassed eight divisions, their entire air force and their navy [on a single front].

[Question] Meaning that they left the other fronts vacant?

[Answer] There is a total of 11-12 Israeli divisions. This means that they divided three divisions [over the other fronts], with the remaining division staying in Israel.

[Question] If an Arab offensive had been launched at that time...?

[Answer] Had an Arab offensive been launched at that time, we would have reached Jerusalem.

[Question] Why didn't such an offensive take place?

[Answer] This is the historical question which your son will ask. For 88 days, Israel was in a crisis.

[Question] What is the price which the resistance has paid?

[Answer] In the Lebanon war (excluding the battle in the north with the Syrians), in the Beirut blockade and in the wars of the south, we lost 72,000 Palestinians and Lebanese martyred and wounded. Sidon alone, including the camp and the old city, lost 12,000 martyrs. These are accurate figures.

[Question] In "these bad Arab times," do you believe that the national resistance in the south will not achieve liberation?

[Answer] No. What I am saying is that I fear that this resistance is not being attended to. I urge further care, encouragement and spending on this resistance. I also urge that it be supplied with weapons.

[Question] Is there no alternative to armed action in the south?

[Answer] In the current perspective, there is no other alternative. The alternative is an invisible classical war.

[Question] What about diplomatic negotiations?

[Answer] Diplomatic negotiations without military pressure will lead to a situation similar to the situation of the West Bank and Gaza in the past 13 years.

[Question] Isn't the discarded 17 May accord the alternative?

[Answer] No, no.

[Question] You support the battle which took place in Lebanon to drop this accord?

[Answer] Speaking frankly, I supported dropping this accord. My question is: How can this accord be considered dropped when there is an [Israeli] office in Sidon (to replace the Dubayyah office) and there is a [Lebanese] office in Jerusalem? Consequently, this dropping of the accord is not serious.

[Question] Meaning that the Lebanese Government has not been serious in dropping the accord?

[Answer] Undoubtedly. There is still an official Lebanese office in Jerusalem.

[Question] There is no official office in Jerusalem. There is an office that belongs to an unofficial faction.

[Answer] When I say an official office, it is because the Lebanese Forces form one-half of the cabinet.

[Question] This is an office that belongs to the Free Christian Grouping.

[Answer] Does this mean that they need the Christians to group together? There is nothing more than churches and abbeys in Jerusalem. In any case, the step of dropping the 17 May accord is not a bad step.

[Question] Let us talk about the land. Let us talk about the plans projected in Lebanon. If you were to give these plans headlines, then what would you say about the Lebanese State Plan?

[Answer] The gravest sin committed by those who approved the Israeli invasion is that they thought at one time that the Israelis could play for them or on their behalf. I told them these words and they heard them from me in more than one official session. When the war was being planned, I told them: Don't believe that the Israelis will play the game on your behalf. They will play, but for their own benefit and not for yours. The game is intended fundamentally to strike at the Palestinian revolution and end its presence in Lebanon, as Reagan has said. Second, there is the approval of the cantons and the U.S.-Israeli disagreement that erupted over the cantons and over whether they are to be federal or confederal cantons. The Israelis want confederal cantons and the Americans want federal cantons. It is no coincidence that both Lebanese national reconciliation meetings were held in Switzerland. I want to remind you that many fell into the trap when they started saying that the cantons plan projected was similar to the Swiss system. The meetings were held in Switzerland to give the impression that this is the way.

[Question] Meetings between whom and whom?

[Answer] The Lausanne meeting. Today, two cantons are recognized internationally: a Maronite canton and a Druze canton. This is what is recognized at the level of the United States and Europe.

[Question] What about the level of Lebanon?

[Answer] There are, of course, plans that have not been completed yet. The objective of these plans is to set up a total of six cantons, according to what I have heard, that include the Maronite and Druze cantons and the Greater Beirut canton.

[Question] What are the remaining three cantons?

[Answer] I am giving hints.

[Question] Is it your opinion that the state's current plan is to cantonize Lebanon?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] What is the title of the Progressive Socialist Party's plan?

[Answer] I don't want to embark on arguments with anybody.

[Question] What about the Shi'ites? There is the Shi'ite problem.

[Answer] There is absolutely no sectarian problem, except in the mind of the planner. There is a difference between doing the underprivileged justice, as Imam al-Sadr said, and getting something from outside the state. The national demand at present is the unity of Lebanon's soil and people. Why? In Palestine, they divided the land and then usurped all of it. But they have failed to divide the people. In Lebanon, they have divided the land and the people. The most dangerous thing we can imagine is the acknowledgement of this sectarian Lebanese division because this division will be reflected on the entire Arab area.

[Question] What do you expect insofar as Lebanon is concerned?

[Answer] The conspiracy does not want security or stability for Lebanon.

[Question] Do you expect more battles?

[Answer] I hope not. The Lebanese must not forget that the land is dearer than anything else. I say this as a homeless Palestinian. The Lebanese must not take the blessing of land lightly.

Staying in Lahd's Pocket

[Question] What is the relationship of the conspiracy with the outcome of the Israeli elections? Does the Israeli national union cabinet mean a new war?

[Answer] Shimon Peres has said that he will depart from Lebanon in 6 months, provided that an agreement is reached. I don't believe that he will depart from Lahd's pocket. I believe that there will be withdrawal in phases: The first withdrawal will be to al-Zahrani, the second to al-Litani and the third will be a withdrawal from the eastern sector.

[Question] Within 6 months?

[Answer] No. It will be a withdrawal to sites that shorten his supply lines so as to reduce his losses.

[Question] All expect what happened in the mountains upon Israel's withdrawal to happen in these areas.

[Answer] I believe that the Israelis are preparing that which is well known, namely to plant conflicts so as to create problems upon their withdrawal. I hope the Lebanese will be alert and will avoid falling into the trap.

[Question] What is Israel's real objective?

[Answer] To divide Lebanon into sectarian cantons.

[Question] Where have your relations with Syria reached?

[Answer] After the Aden and Algiers agreements and brother Abu al-Lutf's visit to Damascus and his meeting with President al-Asad, there are good signs.

[Question] Who, in your opinion, killed Bashir al-Jumayyil?

[Answer] We have nothing to do with this issue. It is my opinion that Israel was behind his assassination. But how, considering that Israel was in agreement with him? He believed at one time that he could break away from the Israelis after our departure. You remember what the condition was after he was elected president. The Israelis were waiting for him in Nahariya and told him: "Come." He answered: "No, I am the president of the republic now."

We Have Not Returned

[Question] Israel is saying repeatedly that the Palestinian fighters are returning to Lebanon and there is talk about 2,800 Palestinian fighters being in the mountains. What is the issue of this return?

[Answer] There is no Palestinian resolution on the return of any armed Palestinians.

[Question] But there is a presence on the ground?

[Answer] No. Those who are present are the followers of some Arab countries. The Palestinian action has no connection with this presence. There

are scattered elements in al-Biqa' and the north. This is true. But it is a presence in numbers that has no impact.

Mubarak

[Question] What about relations with Egypt?

[Answer] There is no doubt that President Husni Mubarak has taken steps that must be underlined for him. He is the one who has raised the issue of Taba and who is preventing the return of the Egyptian ambassador to Israel and linking this return to the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and to the start of movement on the Palestinian issue. In the recent Egyptian elections, the subject of discussion was the Camp David resolutions whereas this topic had been a taboo before. President Mubarak has said that Egypt abides by the principles, objectives and resolutions of the Islamic Conference. President Mubarak has declared a frank and clear Egyptian position on the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and on the second part of the Camp David accord. The list is long. President Mubarak is the one who made the decision to participate in protecting the Palestinian forces departing from Tripoli. We must understand from whom he wanted to protect them. For the first time since Camp David, he put the Egyptian army on the alert against the Israeli army. The Palestinian forces were exposed to an Israeli naval attack. The Egyptian air force took part in providing the protection.

Syria

[Question] Are the relations between Syria and the PLO expected to be restored to their normal condition before convocation of the National Council?

[Answer] There are Algerian, Saudi, Yemeni [PDRY] and Soviet mediation efforts in this direction. For our part, we are trying to reach agreement with the Syrians before holding the Palestinian National Council conference. It is not one of our objectives to have this Syrian-Palestinian estrangement continue. The conference will be held in September.

[Question] With Syria's blessing, in your opinion?

[Answer] We hope so.

[Question] Will you agree to the participation of the Palestinian opposition?

[Answer] Democracy is indivisible. I cannot prevent a person entitled to attend the conference from attending it, unless a decision is issued by the Revolutionary Council prohibiting such participation.

[Question] What is your opinion of the unity between Morocco and Libya?

[Answer] The Arab area which is going through the bad Arab times needs, first, to put an end to the Iraq-Iran war. The Palestinian efforts within

this framework have not stopped and our delegations are moving constantly between Iraq and Iran. Second, the Arab area needs Egypt to return to its natural place and to move far from the Camp David policy. Third, the Arab Maghreb can be a mainstay for restoring a sound balance to the Arab world.

[Question] Balance with whom?

[Answer] Balance versus our enemies. We live in the most dangerous area, namely the oil area, and there is a determination by world imperialism to control this area. What is happening in the Red Sea is a volcano that has not stopped boiling and the Israeli elections are a reflection of the volcano that erupted in Beirut. What the Israelis thought would be a picnic has turned into a war which is not embraced by any of the Israeli generals whereas these generals used to boast of their wars. They have won a battle and lost the war--a war of attrition, inflation and losses that exceed Israeli losses in all the other Israeli-Arab wars. The Israelis are experiencing a military crisis in the south, a political crisis that forced the resignation of Menachem Begin and a social crisis as a result of the losses. This created an atmosphere of confusion and uncertainty in the Israeli elections.

Palestinian Resolution

[Question] What about the differences within the Palestinian ranks?

[Answer] And when is it that there have been no differences?

[Question] But above all these differences there was something controlling them, namely the PLO.

[Answer] Let me remind you of the rejectionist front which had first refused to join the PLO and then joined it in 1978-79. There are also Abu Nidal and Abu Salih. Differences have been one of the characteristics of the Palestinian action because it is a field of interaction.

[Question] In your opinion, has the Lebanon war affected the current Palestinian reality and is this reality a result or a continuation of this war?

[Answer] The Lebanon war has speeded the emergence of some differences.

[Question] What is the situation of the Palestinian front?

[Answer] There is no inter-Palestinian front. There are issues that have always been the subject of disagreement, such as the issue of our view of the Arab countries and of the degree by which these countries are permitted to interfere in independent Palestinian decisionmaking. We believe that our independent Palestinian decisionmaking is the most important thing in Palestinian action.

[Question] What is the independent Palestinian decision?

[Answer] The independent Palestinian decision is governed by the Arab equation, just as the independent Egyptian decision is tied to the Arab equation and the independent Syrian national decision is also tied to the Arab equation. We are equal. Though we do not have a homeland, we do not lack qualifications. Each arena has its particular characteristic.

[Question] Does it seem as if the Palestinian affair is independent of the other Arab affairs?

[Answer] No. We are the Arab force most interested in the Arab position that supports us.

[Question] There are several issues over which the Palestinian arena seems to be divided. Is it truly divided, or is this a democratic phenomenon?

[Answer] Our problem is that our democracy is "a little too sweet." We have the numerical majority to convene the National Council but we have decided in favor of political multiplicity. This is why we have had this exhausting 7-month dialogue which succeeded and was crowned with the Aden and Algiers agreements. We must correct our relationship with Syria. We do not make geographical mistakes while insisting on the special characteristics of the Palestinian action. We hope to achieve positive results with our Syrian brothers before the convocation of the Palestinian National Council. The problem is that we, like the Lebanese, have left "nothing covered" because we have no dictatorship. We have democracy and what is most dangerous in it is the democracy of the jungle of rifles.

[Question] Is there a tendency toward a political settlement in the area in light of the confederal plan between Jordan and the organization?

[Answer] The Palestinian National Council which convened in Algiers last year adopted an important resolution. It is a new resolution in our relationship with Jordan. It is a resolution that calls for establishing confederal Jordanian-Palestinian relations. In accordance with this resolution, the Palestinian leadership opened with the Jordanian leadership a dialogue which did not succeed and which encountered more than one obstacle. After our departure from Tripoli this year, we reopened with Jordan a dialogue which has been crowned with success.

[Question] It is said that whenever Abu 'Ammar feels weak, he improves his relations with the Arab countries and whenever he feels strong, he clings to the independence of Palestinian decisionmaking.

[Answer] This is untrue. I am for independent Palestinian decisionmaking until death.

[Question] Regardless of whether you kill or get killed?

[Answer] Until death. As long as I am the PLO chairman and I am elected by the people, I will continue to defend the independence of this Palestinian national decisionmaking. At the same time, I have Arab relations of

which I am proud. Despite what has happened with the brothers in Syria, I am trying to build my relations and to overcome what has happened with them. Disagreement did occur between us in 1976 and we overcame it. I am trying to improve my relations even with Libya. After the departure from Tripoli, I was elected permanent vice president of the Islamic Conference. I have not been defeated politically. My enemies have been defeated politically, as demonstrated by the outcome of the Israeli elections.

[Question] What is behind the postponement of your visit to Moscow?

[Answer] I have never announced such a visit. How many times has the press taken me to France! I went to Moscow to take part in Yuriy Andropov's funeral. Since then, Palestinian delegations have not stopped visiting Moscow.

When Egypt Departed

[Question] The Arab summit will be a meeting for Arab reconciliation.

[Answer] If it is convened, and I hope it will be convened, this summit must be convened because the Arab situation can withstand no more postponements. The Arab heads of state must meet.

[Question] And if they do not meet?

[Answer] Then say, may the Arab action rest in peace.

[Question] What will happen?

[Answer] We will return to the zero point. This is the scheme.

[Question] You have never spoken of Egypt without some pain or some hope. But your relations with Egypt have not reached the point of estrangement, unlike what has happened with Iraq and Syria.

[Answer] These words show that you lack information. The severest position taken against al-Sadat was the position we took. That is when the PLO's representative [in Cairo] was expelled immediately before the visit to Jerusalem and when hundreds of Palestinian students, out of a total of 22,000 students in the Egyptian universities, were expelled. We, like all the Arab countries that severed their relations with Egypt, asked Yugoslavia and Pakistan to take care of our interests in Egypt but Cairo turned down all requests made by other countries to take care of our interests in Egypt. There are nearly 250,000 Palestinians in Egypt. We have kept one employee in our office in the 10th District so that he may at least issue death certificates, and we are entitled to keep this employee. We were denied the ambassadorial services that take care of the interests and that enjoy all immunities. We must know what Egypt is. When Egypt went to Camp David and departed from the struggle, the Arabs became divided and the problem in Lebanon erupted. If Egypt had been present, it would not have permitted the sectarian partition in Lebanon and the Iraq-Iran war

would not have erupted. Like it or not, Egypt represented at one time the main weight in the Arab nation. The balance was lost with Egypt's departure.

[Question] Will the Syrian-Palestinian negotiations be an inlet to Egypt's return to the Arab world? Is there a relaxation in the Iraq-Iran war?

[Answer] Concerted efforts are being exerted to prevent the escalation of this war, to contain its consequences and to reach a solution. It is my assessment that the solution to this war will not be achieved at once but rather in phases. Why? Because of several factors. As for the issue of Egypt's return, there is no doubt that we hope that Egypt will move away from the Camp David policy.

[Question] Is there anything else you want to say?

[Answer] I have one message to the Lebanese people: You have one of earth's paradises. Do not waste this paradise. The man telling you this is a man who has lost his paradise, namely Jerusalem.

8494

CSO: 4404/633

SAUDI ARABIA'S EFFORTS TO HELP LEBANON OUTLINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 234, 4-10 Aug 84 p 15

/Article by Wahib Muhammad Gharrah: "Saudi Arabia is Helping Lebanon in Reconstruction and Liberation"/

/Text/ Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karami's visit to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia realized positive results which exceeded all expectations.

Saudi Arabia's King Fahd bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz promised the Lebanese prime minister that the kingdom would support all efforts to preserve Lebanon's security, stability and territorial integrity, especially the efforts being made to rebuild Lebanon and restore peace throughout the country.

King Fahd's promise represents yet another pillar of the positive position which the Kingdom has adopted ever since the Lebanese crisis began. Saudi Arabia has made sincere efforts on various levels to solve this crisis, and Lebanon has found in Saudi Arabia a devoted brother supporting its steps towards unity, security and stability.

For this reason, the negotiations between the two sides had extremely positive results. King Fahd and Prime Minister Rashid Karami presided over the talks, with Saudi Second Deputy Prime Minister and Defense and Aviation Minister Prince Sultan bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz and Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal present on the Saudi side, and Malik Salam on the Lebanese side. Saudi Minister of State, Cabinet Member and Acting Information Minister Shaykh Muhammad Ibrahim Mas'ud described the atmosphere of the negotiations as positive, and said that complete accord, marked by a spirit of brotherliness and complete trust, prevailed. The views of both sides coincided on all issues, especially those pertaining to southern Lebanon.

Not surprisingly, Karami voiced his complete satisfaction with the results of the negotiations on various levels, and with the understanding of and harmony with Lebanese aspirations and hopes that he sensed during his meeting with King Fahd. In a statement at the end of his 1-day visit to the kingdom, the Lebanese prime minister said that King Fahd had assured him that Saudi officials were always completely prepared to help Lebanon in all areas, in their dual capacity as representatives of the kingdom and as Arab brothers.

Complete Readiness

Karami ended his visit to Saudi Arabia completely convinced that the kingdom would continue to support Lebanon in all areas. With each of his suggestions and requests for aid or assistance in Lebanon's attempts to end Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon, Karami found the Saudis completely ready to help. Karami informed King Fahd about what Lebanon expects from Saudi Arabia in the context of help in bringing about an Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon, which consists of Saudi Arabia's urging the United States to put pressure on Israel.

Upon bringing up this topic, Prime Minister Karami found that this is the goal of Saudi Arabia as well, and that Saudi Arabia has made many efforts in this direction. Perhaps the strongest indication of Saudi efforts towards the liberation of southern Lebanon is the fact that the primary mission of Saudi Ambassador to Washington Prince Bandar bin Sultan is to further his country's efforts to achieve a settlement in Lebanon. In October 1983, Prince Bandar delivered an urgent letter to President Reagan from King Fahd dealing with the Lebanese situation and the need for America to play its part in bringing about an Israeli withdrawal. The Saudi letter arrived even before Prince Bandar had presented his credentials.

King Fahd has tried hard to achieve this goal, considered by Saudi Arabia to be an Arab, international Lebanese demand. Saudi Arabia strongly believes that Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon is the major obstacle to efforts to achieve peace and accord in Lebanon, and also believes that achieving a withdrawal would make it easier to solve other problems, which the Lebanese could do themselves with Arab help.

The demand for an Israeli withdrawal is an important cornerstone of the kingdom's diplomatic efforts and its contacts with America and the European countries. These efforts arise from the kingdom's firm belief that the Lebanese crisis could be solved by an Israeli withdrawal from the south, since the Israeli military presence is the prime factor in the deteriorating situation, and its conviction that Israel must be kept from interfering in internal Lebanese affairs. Saudi Arabia considers these two demands basic conditions for restoring normal conditions to Lebanon.

Early Efforts

King Fahd's efforts towards an end to Israeli occupation began from the very onset, as political sources say, and have not let up. From the very beginning of the Israeli aggression, King Fahd was in constant contact with President Reagan, urging him to halt the Israeli encroachment. We have not forgotten that the American president was awakened from his sleep whenever the bombing intensified.

Some sources say that the Saudis are fully convinced that Lebanese accord is the rock on which Israeli hopes would be dashed. For this reason, they have constantly urged the various Lebanese groups to rally around the legitimate authorities and to begin working towards the national interest. Saudi Arabia has made great efforts to achieve this, culminating in the Geneva and Lausanne

Conferences. Saudi Arabia is working for an internal reorganization of the Lebanese Army and for a stop to the shedding of Lebanese blood, because discord and disunity will only help Israel achieve its expansionist goals at the expense of Lebanon and the entire Middle East.

Saudi Support

When Karami brought up Lebanon's ideas about the material aid and assistance in rebuilding Lebanon expected from the Saudis, he found the Saudis completely prepared to aid Lebanon's reconstruction.

When Karami was asked whether the Saudis would continue to pay their share of the aid specified at the Tunis Conference, he surprised the reporters by saying, "We have the feeling that Lebanon will receive a lot more than that." This is a positive stand on the part of the kingdom, since the Saudi share amounts to US\$451 million. The Saudis have not been a day late in their material support for Lebanon, be it for reconstruction or for other purposes, but certain circumstances have forced it to freeze its support. Saudi Arabia wants its aid to reach all the Lebanese people, and its efforts have been directed towards assisting all the Lebanese, not just one side against another. Therefore, whenever Saudi Arabia feared that its aid would be diverted to purposes contrary to Lebanese interests, it would freeze the aid.

Right now the Saudis are pleased with the Lebanese Government's steps towards realizing the national interest. Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal expressed his country's optimism, saying, "We are confident that everything will be solved, especially if harmony and concord prevails among the Lebanese brothers." When Karami explained to King Fahd the steps he has taken and will take, now that Lebanon is quiet and conditions encourage the resumption of aid, he found the Saudis in complete agreement. They promised him that economic advisers would be sent to study the reconstruction and economic plans, preparatory to offering aid.

King Fahd has high hopes for Lebanon, and has worked hard to realize them. He is still sending messages, personally and through his representatives, dealing with these hopes, and will not rest until he reaches the goal he has been striving for, even if it is only a ceasefire.

8559

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SAUDI BANKS FACE LOCAL CHALLENGES, FOREIGN UNEASINESS

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 391, 18 Aug 84 pp 55-56

/Article: "Saudi Banks: Abundant Fluidity and a Saturated Local Market"/

/Text/ Fifty years ago, Saudi Arabia knew nothing about banks. The citizens deposited their money at traditional moneychanging shops, which amounted to nothing more than an ordinary storefront not nearly as splendid as the modern shops. Some moneychangers still operate in the kingdom today, but they are facing stiff competition from a young but surprisingly advanced sector--the Saudi banking sector. It is no exaggeration to say that today the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has the fastest growing banking sector in the world, and the most profitable one as well. It is well-known that 9 Saudi banks are on the list of the 500 leading banks of the world, from the standpoint of assets.

The oil boom of the seventies gets the most credit for the development of the Saudi banking sector, for Saudi bank assets have increased 30 times since that time, to a present figure of more than US\$30 billion. This increase in assets was accompanied by a horizontal expansion in Saudi banks, with the opening of more than 500 bank branches throughout the kingdom. This rapid Saudi bank expansion has apparently saturated the local market, and, in the opinion of a major bank, the Saudi banks are now vying for the \$850 million dollars still kept in peoples' homes or deposited with the moneychangers still in business. The limited scope for local expansion has forced Saudi bankers to look abroad, especially to the world money markets, such as New York, London, Hong Kong and Singapore. The Saudi banks have begun making their presence known in world money markets with a determination which has attracted the attention of western banks. Saudi banking expansion overseas has followed two equally significant channels, the first channel consisting of opening branches in international financial capitals, and the second consisting of buying shares in smaller foreign banks. Last May, there were rumors of a Saudi group's attempts to buy the Continental American Bank in Illinois, which was facing obvious financial difficulties. Even though these rumors were clearly unfounded, American banking circles believe that it is only a matter of time before the Saudis buy a major American bank. It should be mentioned that until now, Arab investors have avoided entering the American and European money markets in full force, fearing that this would arouse the hostility of American public opinion, which is extremely sensitive to what it considers Arab penetration of the American economy. This fear has been reflected in the conservative overseas investment

policy followed by the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency /SAMA/, which manages an overseas investment portfolio of an estimated \$120 billion.

As part of this conservative overseas investment policy, the Saudis have acquired only some smaller foreign banks. For example, Saudi businessman Ghayth Fir'awn bought the National Bank of Georgia, and the Ibn Mahfuz family, which owns the Saudi National Commercial Bank, bought Houston's small "Main Bank." The first Arabian Corporation, owned by a group of Arab investors, bought 77 percent of the shares of the Detroit Commonwealth Bank, and a tri-partite Arab group bought a banking holding company based in Washington, D.C. which controls 11 banks in the southern and eastern United States.

Right now, there are indications that the Saudis' conservative investment policy is gradually becoming bolder. With the dwindling of revenues and the saturation of domestic banking markets, SAMA has been giving more Saudi banks the green light to expand overseas. SAMA has approved the opening of foreign branches by the two largest banks in the kingdom: the National Commercial Bank, which opened a branch in New York in late 1983, and the Riyadh Bank, which opened a branch in London this year. In addition, the Saudi-American Bank has opened a correspondent's office in London, and expects to get permission to open a full-service banking branch late next year.

It should be pointed out that the Saudi-American Bank--formerly City Bank--is the largest foreign bank to have been Saudized lately, through the sale of 60 percent of its shares to Saudi investors. The Jazirah Bank, formerly the National Bank of Pakistan, owns shares in several banking consortiums in Madrid, Cairo and Bahrain.

In general, Saudi banks have sufficient fluidity to expand overseas. In addition to having fluidity and capital, they are not burdened with third world debts like the western banks are. Therefore, their financial power alone is enough to make them a formidable force in foreign money markets.

For example, the Bank of Riyadh and the National Commercial Bank, which have a combined capital of \$900 million, are worth as much as the largest banks in the state of Texas, although their assets amount to only 50 to 75 percent of the assets of the Texas banks.

This causes many American bankers to feel that the most the Saudi banks can contribute to the American market is to provide capital, and they add that it is too early to judge how well the Saudi banks can handle the foreign banks in the kingdom which have been Saudized. The western bankers' reservations may result from nonobjective considerations, especially at this early stage in the Saudization plan, which guarantees Saudi capital's control over the ownership of organizations operating in the kingdom by requiring that 50 percent of the shares of such organizations be Saudi-owned. Obviously, this control is slated to continue. However, there are many internal challenges to the Saudi banking sector. The drop in oil revenues and the resultant slowdown in government expenditures means that Saudi banks must expect a lower rate of local return than before, and, consequently, a more difficult domestic market. It should be noted that government expenditures have dropped off 35 percent from their 1981 level.

From the administrative standpoint, the Saudized banks are finding it quite difficult to comply with SAMA's desire that Saudi personnel be employed as much as possible, instead of relying on foreigners to manage banking operations, since most Saudis prefer to manage family businesses or engage in free trade.

The present challenge to Saudized banks remains the emergence of Islamic banks on the domestic financial scene, especially the al-Rajihi Exchange Organization, which recently obtained a license to open an Islamic bank. This organization, which has 150 branches throughout the kingdom and has invested more than \$3 billion in world money markets, poses a new, serious challenge to Saudi banks.

Saudi banking circles recognize that the challenges facing the Saudi banking sector, at home or abroad, are the necessary price of the new sector's maturation and growth. In this respect, the commercial banks enjoy the obvious support of the Saudi Government, as heralded by SAMA's legislation allowing local banks to act as middlemen in the negotiation of shares in national companies.

8559

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STATISTICS ON OVERSEAS STUDENTS, SPECIALIZATIONS RELEASED

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic No 816, 22 Aug 84 pp 15-17

/Article: "10,000 Male and Female Students Overseas, and 35 Education Offices Around the World"/

/Excerpt/ Today there are about 10,000 male and female students on overseas study programs, and there are 35 education offices in Europe, America, Asia and Africa.

The statistics show that in 1982-83, 647 students completed their studies, including 499 who finished their undergraduate studies, 121 who received master's degrees, 26 who received doctorates, and 1 who received a fellowship.

If we break these figures down according to areas of specialization, we find that engineering takes first place, which means that our young people are favorably inclined towards working in technological fields. There were 225 male graduates in this field, and the detailed figures show that these included 202 graduates at the bachelor's level, 22 at the master's level, and 1 at the doctoral level. Engineering is followed by social sciences, with 219 male and 5 female graduates distributed as follows: 152 male and 5 female graduates at the bachelor's level, 63 male graduates at the master's level, and 4 male graduates at the doctoral level. Medicine occupies third place among the specializations, having a total of 71 male and 7 female graduates, of whom 50 male and 4 female graduates finished the bachelor level, 4 male graduates obtained master's degrees, 17 male students obtained doctorates, and 1 obtained a fellowship.

The natural sciences occupy fourth place, with 43 male graduates, of whom 32 finished the bachelor's level, 9 obtained master's degrees, and 2 obtained doctorates. After that comes education, with 26 male graduates, 9 who finished the bachelor's level, 16 who were awarded master's degrees, and 1 who obtained a doctorate.

Agriculture occupies sixth place, with a total of 18 graduates, all of them male, 15 of whom finished the bachelor's level and 3 of whom obtained master's degrees. Next comes the humanities, with 15 male graduates and one female graduate, of whom 12 completed the bachelor's level, 2 obtained master's degrees, and 1 a doctorate. After that comes the fine arts, with nine students, seven

male and two female, distributed as follows: five male and two female graduates at the undergraduate level, and two male graduates who obtained master's degrees.

Law comes last, with eight students, seven of whom obtained bachelor's degrees and one who obtained a master's degree.

The statistics also show that at present there are 546 male and female students studying overseas below the university level, 6,809 students of both sexes at the undergraduate level, 15 male and female students at the diploma level, 922 male and female students at the master's level, and 157 students of both sexes at the doctorate level, besides 38 students on fellowships.

Here also, engineering heads the list, with 2,161 male students and 3 female students, of whom 2,084 male and 3 female students are studying at the undergraduate level, 7 at the master's level, and 7 at the doctorate level. Next comes social sciences, with 1,427 male and 67 female students, of whom 997 male and 52 female students are at the undergraduate level, 3 male and 2 female students are at the diploma level, 392 male and 13 female students are working towards master's degrees, and 35 male students are preparing for doctorates.

Medicine comes third, the statistics showing that there are 1,152 male and 317 female students, distributed as follows: 1,015 male and 203 female students at the bachelor's level, 2 male and 2 female students at the diploma level, 52 male and 11 female students at the master's level, 46 male students and 1 female student at the doctorate level, and 37 male students at the fellowship level.

Medicine is followed by the natural sciences, with a total of 573 male and 43 female students, of whom 419 male and 33 female students are at the undergraduate level, 2 male students at the diploma level, 140 male and 9 female students at the master's level, and 12 male students and 1 female student at the doctorate level. Next comes the humanities, with 180 male and 95 female students, of whom 1 female student is below undergraduate level, 139 male and 78 female students are at the undergraduate level, 1 female student is at the diploma level, 39 male and 11 female students are at the master's level, and 2 male and 4 female students are at the doctoral level.

Education occupies sixth place, with 149 male and 19 female students specializing in this field: 9 male students below undergraduate level, 77 male and 14 female students at the undergraduate level, 40 male and 4 female students at the master's level, and 23 male students and 1 female student at the doctorate level. Next comes agriculture, with 133 students, 75 at the undergraduate level, 1 at the diploma level, 50 at the master's level, and 7 at the doctorate level.

Next comes law studies, in eighth place, with 119 male and 3 female students of whom 79 male and 3 female students are at the undergraduate level, 35 male students at the master's level, and 5 at the doctoral level.

Fine Arts is at the bottom of the list, with 75 male students and 1 female student at the undergraduate level, and 3 male students at the master's level.

In other fields of specialization there are 1,578 male and 482 female students distributed as follows: 416 male and 120 female students below the undergraduate level, 1,112 male and 352 female students at the undergraduate level, 2 male students at the diploma level, 43 male and 10 female students at the master's level, 13 male students at the doctoral level, and 1 male student on a fellowship.

From these statistics and specializations, there is clearly an inverse relationship between the number of university students studying abroad and the development of Saudi universities. The introduction of new sections in our universities has greatly reduced the number of overseas students, and according to experts this trend should increase each year as Saudi universities develop.

One can also see from the statistics that the engineering fields have the largest share of both graduates and overseas students. This means that the policy for sending students abroad should be directed towards building up a cadre capable of transferring technology to our country, instead of experts being brought in from abroad.

Table 1. Overseas Graduates According to Fields of Specialization and Level of Studies, for the School Year 1982-83

Field of Study	Sex	Total	Under-graduate	Diploma	Masters	Doctorate	Fellowship
Humanities	M	15	12	-	2	1	-
	F	1	1	-	-	-	-
Education	M	26	9	-	16	1	-
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fine Arts	M	7	5	-	2	-	-
	F	1	1	-	-	-	-
Law	M	8	7	-	1	-	-
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social Sciences	M	219	152	-	63	4	-
	F	5	5	-	-	-	-
Natural Science	M	43	32	-	9	2	-
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-
Engineering	M	225	202	-	22	1	-
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-
Medicine	M	71	50	-	3	17	1
	F	7	7	-	-	-	-
Agriculture	M	13	13	-	3	3	3
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-

(Table continued on following page)

Table 1 (continued)

<u>Field of Study</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Under-graduate</u>	<u>Diploma</u>	<u>Masters</u>	<u>Doctorate</u>	<u>Fellowship</u>
Other	M	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	M	632	484	-	121	26	1
	F	15	15	-	-	-	-
Grand Total		647	499	-	121	26	1

8559

CSO: 4404/662

IMPLICATIONS OF OIL DISCOVERY ANALYZED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 70, 11 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Fu'ad Matar: "Yemen and Oil"]

[Text] The news of the last few days is that oil has been found in the YAR and that the drilling company is optimistic, and almost certain, that abundant supplies of oil and gas lie under Yemeni soil. The news reports have also said that YAR President Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih learned the details of this good news from Mr Ray Hunt, chairman of the board of the Hunt Corporation, when they met in Sanaa.

According to rumors, finding oil and gas in Arab land is not surprising; what is surprising is when this blessing is not found.

The question of discovering oil and gas in Arab land is in large part a political decision on the part of the United States. If the Americans decide they want to discover oil, they do. If they decide that the Arab country--any country--should remain without oil, even if rivers of oil run under its soil, then oil will not be found.

It would be illogical for there not to be vast quantities of oil in the YAR, and the same is true for gas.

The discovery of oil and gas in the YAR will bring it a great deal of development and make up for what it has lost in past years. It will bring schools, colleges and universities that were not easy to build. It will bring hospitals that were unfeasible and roads that had been difficult to make passable. It will make available services that were unavailable for almost a century. It will compensate it for its lack of technology and hotels and for the pain of the emigration of Yemenis, which is unparalleled among the Arab countries.

The discovery of oil will also free the YAR from the specter of poverty and worry about meeting employee salaries every month. Instead of having to seek help from the other Arab countries for teachers, with its new wealth, it will be able to provide ample training for teachers who will help to eliminate illiteracy.

Instead of the Yemeni official's making exhausting efforts to obtain a loan from the International Bank or to get a loan from a foreign company, with oil and gas, the YAR will become a magnet for the major international companies competing to carry out projects in cities in the YAR.

With oil and gas, the depressing image engraved on peoples' minds of the YAR will slowly be eradicated when they see that the backwardness is disappearing day by day.

With oil and gas, the tribal conflict will no longer dominate the YAR, but the conflict will become one of economic interests.

We could speculate further that with oil and gas, the custom of using qat will disappear, on the basis that this custom is brought on by the overwhelming frustration, depression and sadness of backwardness, and that oil and gas would find a climate welcoming operations and projects requiring every second and forcing the Yemeni to replace chewing sessions with hours of work and followup.

It would take many pages to list what might happen as a result of the discovery of oil and gas in the YAR on the social and developmental levels. However, the examples which we have provided may serve the purpose and convey our meaning.

However much a poor, backward country like the YAR receives in positive returns from the discovery of oil and gas, to the same degree the country fears greatly that the "curse of oil" will strike it and make it seek God's mercy for the present happy days, despite all the problems.

No one is safe from the "curse of oil"--not those who live in the middle of it, nor those who live over rivers of oil but are unable to discover it, or are not wanted by others to do so.

For those who live in the midst of oil, the appearance of calm is deceptive. They have many fears that what they must pay to others not only does not satisfy these others, but is always at the expense of new generations.

A great deal of thought is called for by the circumstances of those countries where the discovery of oil is not desired by others. The best example of this is Sudan. As soon as the presence of oil was confirmed, the scheming against Sudan began, with one plot after another, until the very existence of the country was threatened and until many came to prefer things as they had been before the discovery of oil over the situation that ensued.

However, despite all the fears, the news of the discovery of oil in the YAR is cause for happiness. Nothing will equal the joy of the Yemeni when he realizes that he no longer has to stand in line to get a loan or assistance, nor joy when he can rest assured that the generation of the nineties or that of the year 2000 in the YAR will have an easier life than he did and less hardship than past generations exhausted by backwardness.

The important thing is that the life of the Yemeni from now on will be smooth, since farmers will no longer go into debt. Now the harvest will flourish, his debts will be paid and he will have plenty in his pocket without worrying about a setback striking the harvest.

Once again, to make a comparison, there could be a setback as the result of a war that devours everything or conflicts threatening the sovereignty of the country, as in Sudan.

Yemen Felix will become an oil country. Congratulations and farewell to backwardness.

9882

CSO: 4404/617

SOVIET FORCES REPORTEDLY OVERSEE TORTURE SCENES

Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 15-16 Sep 84 p 12

[Interview by Bertrand de Saint Vincent: "Afghanistan: 'Soviet Police Officers Supervise Torture Sessions'", date not specified]

[Text] Colonel Ayub Assil, 44 years old, was one of the main leaders of the Kabul police at the same time that he was a legal adviser to the Afghan Ministry of the Interior. Having discreetly entered the resistance from the time of the communist coup d'état in 1978, he did not leave his job and the country until 1982, when things threatened to turn sour for him. Passing through Paris, he sums up the situation concerning Soviet penetration within the Afghan police for LE QUOTIDIEN.

[Le Quotidien] What are the Soviets' means of control over the Afghan police?

[Ayub Assil] One must distinguish two periods. At first, after Hafizullah Amin's first communist coup d'état in April 1978, the Soviets sent some 50 "advisers" to control the police. The West German advisers who were there before, about 10 of them, were sent back home. In this setting, however, the Afghan officers enjoyed some autonomy, limited of course, but real. In December 1979, after the Soviet invasion, this room to maneuver disappeared completely. Moscow sent 200 advisers who took things into hand right away. The Afghan officers were reduced to simply carrying out orders.

[Le Quotidien] What, roughly speaking, is the profile of the Soviet "adviser"?

[Ayub Assil] Except for a tiny minority who come from Kazakhstan, the Soviet advisers do not speak Afghan. Most of them therefore are assisted by an interpreter. What strikes me about them is that they are very specialized. Especially in comparison with the West German advisers, who had a more general vision, they have extremely precise responsibilities. There is, for example, one official whose sole task is to take care of finding fingerprints.

They have a very military discipline, but are often ill at ease to justify their presence, as if deep down inside they do not believe their own arguments.

[Le Quotidien] What of their methods?

[Ayub Assil] Torture is very frequently used. On the whole, these are the usual means that are used: pulling out teeth or fingernails, electricity, suspending the victim from rings in the ceiling. There is also a cold room in the basement of the military hospital where they lock up resisters until they talk.

[Le Quotidien] What are the police recruitment methods?

[Ayub Assil] There also it is the usual methods. They generally conduct school raids, then they register the young boys they have rounded up in the police academy before sending them to undergo training in the USSR. These brutal methods explain the high desertion rate in the police as well as in the army.

[Le Quotidien] In light of the recent intensification of Soviet operations in Afghanistan, what is the strategy of the resistance?

[Ayub Assil] We are trying to work toward a greater unification of the resistance movements. Several initiatives to create a united front have recently developed, one of which came from the former king of Afghanistan. We hope that they will have a positive outcome quite soon.

9895

CSO: 4619/69

'VOICE OF COMMUNIST PARTY' BEGINS TRANSMITTING

London KEYHAN in Persian 13 Sep 84 p 2

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Investigations about the contents of the Persian language broadcasts of this secret transmitter reveal that the Maoist organization of Komeleh, which is active in Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan, and the minority faction of the Fedayan-e Khalq form the real nucleus of this new communist organization.

The broadcast of the new transmitting station which calls itself "The Voice of the Communist Party of Iran" was first heard in Iran and its surrounding areas on 26 August. For the next 2 weeks, the half hour programs of the Voice of the Communist Party of Iran were broadcast twice daily but could be heard with difficulty because of the screeching sounds jamming the broadcasts.

At first it was thought that the transmitting station of the Voice of the Communist Party of Iran, like "The Iranian Workers' Radio" which represents the views of the Tudeh Party of Iran, was located in Kabul. But further investigation has shown conclusively that the transmitting station is located in a neighboring area other than Afghanistan, "perhaps in the Soviet Union or Iraq."

The Voice of the Communist Party of Iran is essentially against religion, God and the regime of the Ayatollah; but so far it has not mentioned that it has any connection with the Tudeh Party nor has it criticized the policies of that party.

Similarly, the propaganda media of the Tudeh Party have not evinced any reaction towards the official debut of a rival left wing party.

In fact, in its most virulent attacks on the Ayatollah's regime and its exhortations to workers, oppressed elements and freedom lovers in Iran to rise up against the regime and "religious totalitarianism," the Voice of the Communist Party of Iran has maintained that with its "revolutionary-Marxist" course, the Communist Party of Iran had succeeded in unmasking the real identity of "petit bourgeoisie" such as "the Mojahedin-e Khalq organization and the majority wing of the Fedayan-e Khalq" who claimed to be Marxists and that the Communist Party of Iran had hoisted the flag of the true communism of Marx, Engels and Lenin in opposition to such deviations.

The majority wing of Fedayan-e Khalq supports the Tudeh Party of Iran whereas the minority faction of Fedayan-e Khalq is abhorred by the Mojahedin-e Khalq,

Armed Uprising

Unlike "The National Voice of Iran" which broadcasts from Baku under the direct supervision of Moscow and the Persian language broadcast of "The Iranian Workers' Radio" which is transmitted from Kabul, the Voice of the Communist Party of Iran openly exhorts the people of Iran to launch an armed and bloody uprising against the regime of the Ayatollah.

The texts of the broadcasts of the two transmitters connected with the Tudeh Party generally take the form of sharp attacks on the leaders of the regime and its failure to carry out reforms.

This transmitter [the Voice of the Communist Party of Iran] begins and ends its program with exhortations to the "workers, the oppressed people and the freedom-lovers" of Iran to launch a bloody and armed uprising against the regime of Velayet-e Faqih [the supremacy of the Theologian]. The broadcasts urge these groups: "You, who by your valor were able to overthrow the previous regime which was armed to the teeth, have also the power through uprising and the show of revolutionary strength to end the black terrorist regime of the Ayatollahs and religious rulers."

At the same time, the Voice of the Communist Party of Iran's broadcasts give frequent priority to the "victories" of the Komeleh Peshmarg group in Iranian Kurdistan.

This radio also talks of the programs of the party and accuses the capitalist class of pulling out of the "garbage-can of history" a medieval style religious government and setting it up with the objective of "continuing the exploitation of the oppressed masses"; the radio conveys to its supporters the good news that the Communist Party of Iran desires "the removal of the religious government; an end to the use of religion as a government tool; the removal of religious influence over political and social laws and the withdrawal of government support from religious activity."

"The government should declare religion to be a personal matter. The Communist Party is struggling for the establishment of a revolutionary democratic republic which will proclaim the total separation of religion from government as an article of its constitutional program for the country and will carry out this pledge."

General Secretary Of Communist Party

In one of its recent broadcasts, the Voice of the Communist Party of Iran mentioned "Comrade Abdollah Mottaqi" as the Secretary General of the party. In the broadcast interview, Mottaqi expressed the view that the Islamic regime had reached the point of no return.

"The next revolution will be breaking out soon. The Islamic Republic has rendered imperialism services that even the former regime could not perform."

Except for the use of certain "Marxist and anti-imperialist" terms, Comrade Mottaqi's statements attacking the Ayatollah's regime were not very different from the views of the moderate publications opposed to the Tehran regime. Mottaqi said, "The Islamic regime and Western imperialism now move shoulder to shoulder; that is why, to save himself, the Ayatollah has stretched out his hand for help towards imperialism, and imperialism, for its part, has warmly clasped his hand."

The correspondent of the Voice of the Communist Party of Iran asked the Secretary General's views regarding the objective of uniting all the anti-regime forces with the sole aim of overthrowing the regime as soon as possible.

After some introductory remarks, Mottaqi said, "Ultimately, the revolution and the struggles of the masses will defeat the regime. Of course, the imperialists will not sit idly by but will try to save the regime."

Mottaqi criticized the views of the Council for National Resistance and rejected the proposal for the alliance of all the anti-regime forces on the grounds that such a union would revive the bitter memories of a similar pact among the anti-shah forces during the previous revolution.

9863

CSO: 4640/399

IRAN

EMIGRE PAPER: 2 MILLION STUDENTS TO BE DISPATCHED TO WARFRONTS

London KEYHAN in Persian 27 Sep 84 pp 1, 14

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] The clerics took the students in a chest-beating procession to the mosques to register them for martyrdom.

There were clashes between students and Hezbollah supporters in several cities.

All medical and guardianship exemptions from before the revolution were declared void.

Khamene'i: Preserve the value of the "imam" by offering your blood.

Tehran. Nearly 2 million children and youths registered in mosques throughout the country to be dispatched to the Iran-Iraq war front. The Islamic government announced that all students of 12 years of age and above must volunteer to participate in the war which has now entered its fifth year.

The registration of the students began a short time after the new academic year began. The messages of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni, the leader of the revolution, and Ayatollah 'Ali Musavi-Khamene'i, the president, were read in thousands of elementary and high schools throughout the country. Then, the students, in a chest-beating procession, followed the local clerics to the mosques to register.

Reports from several points in the capital indicate that in the course of the procession, violent clashes took place between students and Hezbollah groups. In one violent confrontation Sunday afternoon on Shush Street in Tehran, at least 100 persons were injured. A group of students who had left the processions were attacked by Hezbollah supporters and the clashes began.

Through Monday morning, there were also reports of clashes in Tabriz, Rasht, Kerman, and Fasa. In all of these cities, the parents of students assembled in front of the mosques to prevent the compulsory registration of their children and engaged in fighting the Revolution Guards. In Fasa, several government buses were set on fire.

Ayatollah Khamene'i, who rang the bell in Jalal Al-e Ahmad School in southern Tehran, said:

This year is the year of martyrdom and all of our youths will go to the front.

He praised the martyrs of the school, calling them examples of Islamic self-sacrifice. Al-e Ahmad High School has 630 students, and last year had more than 400 martyrs.

Khamene'i said: Do not do anything that would bring discredit the "imam." Preserve the honor of the "imam" with your blood. (Imam is a title that some of the supporters of Khomeyni have given him.)

The clashes in Kerman were apparently more violent than in other areas. Last month, thousands of Kerman youths were sent to the front. The Kerman people claim that they have paid their share and that they should no longer send new people.

Ayatollah 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis, in the first session of the Majlis after the summer holidays, called for the continuation of the war with the participation of more volunteers.

Ayatollah 'Ali Akbar Musavi-Ardabili, the chief justice, also said in a speech at a high school in District Two of Tehran: Islam and the revolution need more martyrs. The revolution is nurtured with the blood of the young people, and Islam is at the threshold of victory under the leadership of the imam of the nation.

In addition, the office of military service announced that all medical and guardianship exemptions issued before the Islamic revolution are void. Therefore, more than 120,000 persons are considered eligible once again. And many of them will probably be sent to the fronts.

A spokesman for the office of military service said: Before the revolution, tens of thousands of exemptions were issued without any justification and the situation with regard to those with exemptions must be clarified. Those with such exemptions are considered eligible regardless of their age.

Since the beginning of autumn, dozens of Hezbollah members armed with knives, clubs, brass knuckles, and sometimes machetes, cleavers and chairs had gathered in front of the large high schools of Tehran and other cities shouting, "My beloved Khomeyni, tell me and I will shed blood" and "We are all your soldiers, Khomeyni; welcome the students and the teachers."

In every high school, after reading the messages of Khomeyni and the president, a local cleric would speak on the advantages of martyrdom and emphasize that according to a religious decree by Ayatollah Khomeyni, students do not require the consent of their parents to go to the front.

Of the nearly 10,000 high school and university students in the country, about 3.5 million are girls, who will not be sent to the front. At least 4.5 million others are under the age of 12 and no plan has been made yet to send them to the war. However, nearly 2 million students from the 6th grade to university level have registered to participate in the war.

Under the existing conditions of terror and propaganda in the Islamic Republic, one cannot determine what percentage of high school and university students actually wish to participate in the war. In most areas of the country, arrangements were made such that one could not really avoid registration. In some cities, such as Tabriz, Rasht, Kerman, and Fasa, more than half the students were absent on the first day of school. Many elementary and high schools will most likely close in practice this year, because most of their students will be sent to the front.

The presence of thousands of professional revolutionaries, Hezbollah supporters, Guards, mobilization members, in schools, mosques and alleys of every locality prevent the actual opinion of the young people and the youths being known. In practice, they only talk about volunteering as a pretext. Anyone who does not volunteer will not only not have a place in school, but he will not be able to leave his home, because the "self-sacrificers of the Imam" will be awaiting him with knives and brass knuckles.

Some relatively more comfortable families are feverishly engaged in having their children escape abroad. At present, 200 to 300 youths are helped to escape through Pakistan and Turkey daily. The network which arranges these escapes collects between 1 and 5 million rials for every escapee. A group of the Revolution Guards and clerics also are partners in this network.

The deprived families have helplessly accepted the existing situation; the only recourse they have found is to prevent their sons from going to school. According to an unofficial estimate, tens of thousands of the children of poor families in southern

and eastern Tehran have not registered in any school this year. Since schools have turned out to be preparatory camps for dispatching students to the front, many youths prefer to work or look for temporary jobs on the streets.

A major part of the official curriculum this year has been set aside in order to carry out the mental and physical mobilization of the students for the war.

The Islamic government has two objectives in implementing the mobilization plan in schools. First, this program is a means to create more fear and terror and to prevent demonstrations against the regime in schools. There is evidence that the opponents of the regime had planned to incite the students against the government of the Ayatollah. With the implementation of the mobilization plan, the opponents will probably retreat for at least some time.

The second objective of the regime is to create a large reserve force. A group of the leaders of the regime also insist that the great offensive against Iraq must be carried out.

To do so, the human wave tactic must be implemented. Some clerics, particularly Ayatollah Hashemi-Rafsanjani, are promoting the idea of an attack on Baghdad at the present time.

The military commanders have predicted that Iran will be able to withstand 150,000-200,000 casualties, break through the defensive lines of Iraq in (Mandali)-Baghdad, and reach the suburbs of Iraq's capital, in which case, the regime of Saddam Huseyn will be unable to continue the war.

Some of the Islamic leaders are not yet ready to accept such a heavy human cost, but have agreed in the mean time to prepare a large reserve force.

The proponents of a direct attack on Baghdad say: The effect of our victory and the "imam's" army entering Baghdad will be so strong that it will neutralize the negative effect of very heavy casualties.

Among the military, Brigadier Gen Qasem 'Ali Zahirnezhad, the chief of army headquarters, who has sent his resignation to Khomeyni several times, strongly opposes any action that will include heavy human casualties. On the other hand, Col 'Ali Sayyad-Shirazi, the commander of the ground forces, is apparently among those who say: The war must end with a direct attack on Baghdad.

The doors and walls of all schools are covered with pictures of the Islamic leaders and slogans of war. Programs about the war

are presented every night in the prayer centers, religious mourning centers, Mehdi religious centers, mosques, schools and other public places.

The content of these programs match the statement of Ayatollah Khomeyni, who insists: The highest duty of every Muslim is to kill and be killed for Islam.

10,000

CSO: 4640/26

OPPOSITION LEADERS INSIST ON ENDING IRAN-IRAQ WAR

London KEYHAN in Persian 27 Sep 84 p 16

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Most leaders opposing Khomeyni recommend that while there is still time, given the situation of Iraq, and while the possibility still exists to collect damages from Iraq, the aggressor and instigator of the war, the Islamic Republic must make use of the resources and mediating efforts of international agencies and other countries, such as the Islamic conference, the United Nations, the non-aligned countries, Egypt, Algeria, Cuba, India, and so on, in order to achieve an honorable peace with Iraq.

The 1975 Agreement

'Ali Amini, the coordinator of the Iranian liberation front, said: "Our position is quite clear in this regard. We have considered and still consider Iraq as the aggressor. After the brave army of Iran took back Khorramshahr, I sent telegrams to Ayatollah Khomeyni and Saddam Huseyn proposing that the time has now come to sit and negotiate peace."

Amini added: "Our proposal for peace was a return to the 1975 Algerian agreements. We have reached the conclusion that the war has now turned into a battle between two persons and not two nations. Khomeyni's condition that Saddam must go is an excuse to continue the war in order to keep himself (Khomeyni) in power. But our concern is that Iran's position, which is becoming weaker every day, will reach a state that the issue of collecting damages will be pointless."

The former prime minister said: "After pushing the Iraqis out of Iran, we were in a position of strength, such that even Saudi Arabia was prepared to help in paying for the damages and compensation to Iran. But it is impossible now; because of the duration of the war, the situation has changed and we are in a

position of defeat, which is unacceptable to us Iranians. Today, we see that we are in a very bad situation militarily."

Amini hopes that the moderate faction of clerics, headed by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, will be successful in making Khomeyni resolve the peace with Iraq by conferring it to the Majlis, as he ended the issue of the U.S. hostages by resorting to the Majlis. The recent trip of the president to Syria, Libya, and Algeria might concern this issue.

View of Ayatollah Ruhani

Ayatollah Mehdi Ruhani, another opponent of Khomeyni, also has not the slightest doubt of the aggression of Iraq, but he blames this "mistake" of Iraq to a certain extent on the "provocation and deception" of some of the Iranians who thought Khomeyni was in a weak position, the army was weak, the domestic situation was unstable, and the problem of Kurdistan was ahead of them. Hence, the anxiety of some of the neighbors in regards to the exportation of the revolution could be used to overthrow Khomeyni.

In the opinion of Ruhani, in this war, even if it lasts another 10 years, for many reasons, there will be neither a victor nor a defeated. It is even possible that it will become like the Arab-Israeli war, which has no end at all.

Ruhani finds it unfortunate that Ayatollah Khomeyni has lost "several appropriate opportunities" to establish peace. He pointed out that even Saudi Arabia was prepared to contribute \$50 billion in compensation to Iran for Iraq.

Ruhani said: "What we want to say to Mr Khomeyni is that this war is by no means a war between Muslims and non-Muslims, but between two Islamic countries. It is the duty of the religious scholars and clerics of the two countries to end this war and fratricide, which is not beneficial for either country, as soon as possible."

Only the Algerian Agreement

Shapur Bakhtiar, the leader of the Iranian national resistance movement, said very vehemently, briefly, and decisively: "I had condemned not only the war and the aggression of Iraq but the provocations of Khomeyni and had called for an end to the war as soon as possible."

Bakhtiar added: "From the beginning, I said, as I now also say, that a peace agreement must be signed and implemented only on the basis of the Algerian agreement; the damages that Iran has suffered must be compensated peacefully, through an international

arbitration commission; and the procedure for this payment must be clarified. Such statements as, this leader must be punished, this regime must be overthrown, that one must go, and similar statements are all baseless and ridiculous, because no one has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another country.

10,000
CSO: 4640/28

LONDON SEMINAR ON PAKISTAN CRITICIZED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 4 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by Mohammad Javed Iqbal Khawaja: "Conference With a Negative Attitude on the Future of Pakistan"]

[Text] A conference entitled "Future of Pakistan" concluded in London recently (from 16 to 18 August). This conference was organized by the Muslim Institute of London. The title of the conference and the fact that it took place in a cosmopolitan city like London raised hopes that scholars from various countries would put their heads together to find solutions for a bright future for Pakistan. After listening to the speeches of various people who consider themselves experts on Pakistan, however, it appears that most of the conference time was wasted on discussing the "political mistakes" of Pakistan's founder, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and his "sin" of establishing Pakistan, on condemning the purpose and organization of the movement to establish Pakistan and on supporting a movement to abolish its geographic boundaries and merge it with another country. Another surprising factor was that the people who made fiery speeches about Pakistan had a very fragmentary knowledge of the Pakistani movement, its history and its leaders. They appeared to be totally ignorant about the desires of Muslims in this subcontinent and did not know why millions of Muslims living between the Khyber Pass and Patgam desired the establishment of Pakistan.

A pamphlet distributed at the beginning of the seminar described four major reasons for the problems in Pakistan:

1. The legislation that established Pakistan had no legal basis.
2. The attitude of the Muslim League during the entire struggle for independence was servile. It gave more emphasis to legislation than to the wishes of the Muslims.
3. Pakistan was established on the basis of religion, an anachronism at that time. The establishment of a country for Islam was unnecessary and contrary to acceptable principles.

4. Pakistan was established on Indian territory. It is unrealistic for India to accept the 1947 division of its territory as permanent.

It is obvious that these points are historically baseless and overlap each other. As the seminar progressed, the purpose of these points began to emerge.

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Mr Kaleem Sadiqqi, director of the institute, declared in his inaugural address that the root cause of all problems in Pakistan is the fanatical attitude toward religion by the Muslim League leaders. Criticizing Quaide-e Azam, he added that the founder of our country and the leaders that followed him have made our country a slave to the west. Commenting on the establishment of Pakistan, he said that the geographic boundaries of countries established on religious grounds are blasphemous. He added that "the boundary between Pakistan and Iran will be removed after Pakistan becomes a Muslim country, or this boundary will exist in name only." He added that the boundaries between Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan are temporary. He criticized all Pakistani political parties, especially Jamaat-e Islami [JI]. Referring to JI he added that the kind of Islam it represents is not real Islam but a caricature of it. He suggested that in order to protect its future, Pakistan should accept the Islamic movement under the leadership of Iran and start a similar revolution in Pakistan involving its intellectuals. As for Pakistan, he does not think that Pakistan has an identity as a nation.

Kaleem Sadiqqi's speech clearly reveals the main reason for this seminar. It also shows us the kind of people who participated in this conference. This conference might have been somewhat effective if the discussion had been limited to history and present political problems. Two speakers following Mr Sadiqqi also took cheap shots at the founder of Pakistan. Imam Tameemi showed his ignorance about our history and blamed Mr Jinnah for the partition of India. Later, Dr Yakub Zaki, a newly converted Muslim from Scotland, declared that Pakistan has no legal status according to Muslim doctrine.

So, Pakistan is a cynical nation and it is an illegal country. The organizers of this conference did not object to the speeches by these two people. Some participants were greatly agitated especially Dr Qamar Wahida of Sind University. She walked out of one meeting. Some Pakistani participants were greatly upset and one commented, "If you people do not consider us legitimate nation and refuse to recognize our existence, then why are you meeting here to discuss our future?". Mr Martaza Poya, editor of The Islambad daily MUSLIM, expressed his resentment by not reading his speech specially prepared for this conference. Instead, he eulogized Quaid-e Azam, praising his leadership qualities and glorious deeds such as the establishment of Pakistan. He

reminded the organizers that the major purpose of Pakistan's existence was not to help Muslims from India but to make the Muslim world powerful.

An analysis of the speeches and treatises presented at the conference indicates that the quality of these presentations was very low. Most of the presenters were totally ignorant about the history of Islam on our subcontinent. There was little or no discussion about the problems Pakistan is facing. All discussion was limited to doctrines. More time was spent on Pakistan's past than on its future, for which this conference was called. Some speakers did not follow guidelines for use of appropriate language at international conferences and resorted to taking cheap shots.

All conferences have a purpose. We do not understand what purpose this conference served. How did it serve Islam, Pakistan or Iran, after the expenditure of millions of pounds on travel and arrangements in London? Some of the people invited from Pakistan are the kind who would agree with the point of view taken at the conference. If we evaluate the following of these people in Pakistan, we have to conclude that the organizers of this conference wasted a fortune for nothing. Iran's Islamic revolution is, of course, the greatest event of this century and Muslims are overjoyed at its success. The supporters of this revolution have attacked the Pakistani movement and especially its founder. They have suggested that our borders be eliminated and have tried to prove that our country is founded on illegal grounds. They are living in a fool's paradise if they think they can get Pakistan's support after taking such a position. Muslims of Pakistan support Iran's revolution but the fanatic supporters of this revolution are wasting their time, energy and money if they think that they can influence Pakistanis. No Pakistani can take such a negative attitude toward his country seriously.

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DEFENSE MINISTER TALPUR INTERVIEWED

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[Interview with Defense Minister Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur; interviewer, date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] Recently, before leaving on your visit to Saudi Arabia, you proposed the formation of a joint defense system of Muslim countries along the line of NATO. Will you please explain the guidelines you have in mind for this plan?

[Answer] I believe that there should be cooperation among all the Muslim countries in all walks of life. Speaking in general terms, there should be cooperation among all countries of the world, but cooperation among such [similar] countries is particularly essential. As far as defense is concerned, it is a matter of life and death. Western countries have established a defense system under U.S. leadership called NATO for safeguarding their security. The countries of East Europe, too, have concluded a similar treaty under Soviet leadership called the Warsaw Pact. I believe that Muslim countries, too, should conclude a similar treaty without delay. Muslims have had bitter experience in the past. For example, Turkey was invaded by the Allies, who later occupied all the Arab countries. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, occupied the Muslim states in the Near East and Central Europe. If the Muslim countries had had a joint defense system, then perhaps our fate would have been different. Today we are buying arms with the hard-earned income of our people and our resources. If we were to put together all our resources, then we could establish an effective defense system. Muslim countries have great resources of mineral wealth. They have oil, gold, copper and other minerals. By combining this wealth we can further strengthen ourselves.

[Question] Have you formally proposed to other countries the formation of joint defense system among Muslim countries?

[Answer] Frankly speaking, this is my personal view. You may call it my personal desire. It is my sincere desire that there be cooperation among Muslim countries in the field of defense.

[Question] Taking into consideration the fact that your delegation included members belonging to the department of defense production, could you tell us the purpose of your visit?

[Answer] We were invited to visit Saudi Arabia by Prince Sultan bin 'Abd al-Aziz, who is deputy prime minister of his country as well as its minister of defense. This invitation was extended by him some time ago. Once the date for the visit had also been determined, but for some reason we could not make the visit. It was a fraternal visit and our delegation saw many places in Saudi Arabia.

[Question] During the course of an interview with PPI, you supported the Saudi system of government. Did you form this opinion after your visit?

[Answer] No, sir. A PPI representative inquired about a statement in which I had said that there should be an Islamic system of administration in Pakistan and asked me as an example to name a country where an Islamic system of administration is in force. In reply, I told him that just as it was impossible to find any country that could be said to be governed strictly in accordance with democratic principles, so it is impossible to name any country that is governed exactly in accordance with the principles of socialism. Similarly, there are Muslim countries that are said to have Islamic systems of administration but in fact none of them reflect the true image of Islam. Despite this, there are certain Muslim countries that have done a lot to revive religion. The PPI representative then asked me if there was any country that has a truly Islamic system of government and whether I could name any country as an example. I told him that such a form of government existed in Saudi Arabia. He then said that similarly Iran has an Islamic government, to which I replied that there was an Islamic government in Iran as well. The same correspondent then said, but there is a monarchy in Saudi Arabia, and I told him that in my opinion whatever the Saudi Arabian Government is doing or has done for its people, no democratic or socialist government would have been able to do more had it been in its place; on the contrary, it would have accomplished far less. This correspondent concluded from this discussion that I was in favor of monarchy. I am not in favor of monarchy, nor do I wish to make Gen Ziaul Haq the king of Pakistan. I am not in favor of dictatorship either. I am only in favor of Islam. I had also said that you must swallow this bitter pill. Neither Western democracy nor socialism can be of any use to Pakistan. I wish to say this openly that however much you may try, neither socialism nor Western democracy will be successful in Pakistan. What we need is a simple and straightforward system that suits our temperament.

[Question] Mr Mir is not monarchy also a negation of Islam?

[Answer] In this connection, my opinion is that if monarchy is a negation then would you consider the monarchies that existed during 14 centuries of Islam and the saints and religious scholars as ignorant?

[Question] But the saints and scholars always opposed monarchy.

[Answer] Not all of them.

[Question] Then will you tell us which system of administration you favor for Pakistan?

[Answer] Pakistan needs a simple and straightforward Islamic system of administration. I have already stated earlier and I declare even now that an Islamic system of administration should be enforced in Pakistan. The Islamic system does not make any distinction between big and small and it is full of blessings.

[Question] This is all very well, but there should be some form of government. Similarly, should there not be some system for electing the government or the head of the government?

[Answer] Any system can be used. You may choose any system by mutual consent.

[Question] It appears that future elections in Pakistan will be on nonparty basis. What do you think of this proposed system?

[Answer] I will support whatever decision is taken by the cabinet. If you were to look at the socialist countries, they have one-party government and the people vote only for one party. In Western countries, in the United States and Britain in particular, they have only two parties. There they boast about democracy and polling is carried out with great pomp and show. People are brought to the polling stations in large numbers. Tens of millions of rupees are needed to win the elections. The same is the case here; if you are strong and can bribe the police officers, then you can win. That is the kind of democracy they have there. I do not believe in such democracies; may God destroy such democracies.

[Question] Will you take part in nonparty elections?

[Answer] Whatever system of elections is decided on we will most certainly participate.

[Question] Are you in favor of the one-man, one-vote principle?

[Answer] I certainly am. Do you consider treating people as if they were sheep and cattle, bribing them, taking them to the polling stations and obtaining their votes to be an honorable thing? I am not in favor of such a system. All over the world, wherever democracies exist, this is the usual practice. In the United States, at dinners given for the candidates, each plate costs a thousand dollars and democracy is bought at a price amounting to tens of millions of rupees.

[Question] During one of your interview you said that the 1973 constitution is the root of evil. Do you really consider it as a root of evil? Your statement is very controversial.

[Answer] I have not said anything that could create a controversy. On 25 January 1975 I wrote about 70-80 letters to the late Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and his colleagues in the defunct People's Party in which I appealed to them not to adopt a constitution and this is still on the record. In my letters I said that we do not have the right to write a constitution because the mandate given by the people was for a united Pakistan, and since Pakistan had disintegrated, the conditions had changed. We will now have to obtain the

mandate all over again and only then can we make a constitution. Mr Bhutto received my letter on 28 January. My position concerning this constitution is quite clear. My letter, in which I opposed a constitution, was published by DAWN as a result of which Altaf Gohar, the editor of DAWN, was jailed. This letter was also published in NEWSWEEK. My point of view regarding the 1973 constitution is very clear to all. You cannot force any point of view on me. It is being said that the constitution was prepared by the representatives of the people. In this connection, I have already said that those calling themselves representatives of the people do not represent the people at all, they do not have any status. This statement is also part of the record.

[Question] But the situation is now such that the country does not have any constitution and the 1973 constitution is the only basic document that enjoys the unanimous support of the entire nation.

[Answer] The only fundamental document in this country is the Koran. No other document is a fundamental document. The only difference is that the people who are in power should implement it fully. The Koran says, do not talk about things on which you do not act.

[Question] The president has accepted the fundamental status of the 1973 constitution. He says that there are some contradictions in the constitution that will have to be removed.

[Answer] I have given you my detailed views about the 1973 constitution. Privately, I would also like to tell you that I do not wish to start any rioting or disturbances. If you remove the abominations that have been present in the constitution since January 1973 I would have no objection. After removing the abominations you may call it an Islamic constitution. Everything will be all right and I will have no objection.

[Question] What contradictions do you think exist in this constitution?

[Answer] The contradictions are exactly the same as those mentioned by the president. All articles on which there is no unanimous agreement should be removed and the constitution should be amended to suit the temperament of the people. On the one hand, the 1973 constitution is called the people's constitution and on the other hand the very next day amendments were introduced to suit particular interests. The people responsible for making the constitution were beaten by the security forces and forcibly evicted from the assembly.

[Question] Who will remove the contradictions?

[Answer] The cabinet will. Presently, the president and the cabinet constitute the de facto government. They alone can remove the contradictions present in the constitution; besides them, there is the military council.

[Question] You said just now that the people who made the constitution did not have the right to do so and now you say that the cabinet and the military council have the right to make amendments. This negates your mandate theory.

[Answer] It is true that the present government did not come into power with promises. It took possession of power. This government came into power because the situation in the country had worsened. It is the responsibility of the army to protect the country when the situation gets out of control. This government promised that it will leave after holding elections. But since the conditions were not conducive to holding elections, this government could not hold elections. It did not raise any slogans nor did it make any promises to provide the people with bread, clothing and housing.

[Question] Recently, there have been reports about shooting and clashes between Pakistan and Indian troops in the Azad Kashmir area. These incidents indicate that India's designs are not good. Will you please comment?

[Answer] I would like to state that Kashmir is an issue between Pakistan and India. If India attacks Pakistan's borders, we will fight back. I am sure that such a situation will never arise, but should such an event come to pass, India will find out for itself that it is not easy to swallow Pakistan and think that all misunderstandings will be removed.

[Question] It is generally said, and this view is also expressed by political observers, that the internal crisis in India is deepening and that in order to end this crisis India will attack Pakistan. Do you personally perceive any such danger?

[Answer] It is our basic duty to protect our borders and I might add that we are very much alert and on our guard. We are watching the situation very closely. If genocide is being committed there to win the elections, that is not new. This is part and parcel of the so-called democracy. But if in order to gain popularity Mrs Gandhi commits aggression against Pakistan, we will not take it lying down.

[Question] You condemned the Indian attack on the Golden Temple in East Punjab. You are the only minister that has condemned this act.

[Answer] I will condemn repression wherever in the world it may occur.

[Question] You said just now that Kashmir is an issue between Pakistan and India. But there is an impression that the Kashmir issue has been buried under the Simla Pact. What is your view on the matter?

[Answer] The Kashmir issue has not been buried in the Simla Pact. All that has been said in this pact is that the Kashmir issue will be settled through negotiations. If there is no problem, how can there be any negotiations? The Kashmir issue is very much alive. The only thing that has been said is that this problem should be resolved through negotiations.

[Question] Some sources say that the former prime minister of Pakistan had given them verbal assurance.

[Answer] I know nothing about this. That is to say that I have no knowledge whatsoever as to what transpired between Mr Bhutto and Mrs Gandhi. Neither does the present government know anything about the discussions they had between them.

[Question] Recently, there were reports that India captured an area comprising 100 sq miles of the mountainous region in the North West Frontier Province as well. The Ministry of Defense also issued a clarification on this issue. Could you give us the background to this?

[Answer] The situation on the borders keeps changing because of snowfall. Disputes also keep arising. Despite all this, the thing is ours and it will continue to be ours.

[Question] Didn't India capture this area?

[Answer] No, India did not capture it. Their mountaineers, however, do keep coming into this area. But that area is ours and God willing will continue to be ours.

[Question] There is an impression at this time that India, thinking Pakistan to be weak and taking advantage of the situation prevailing inside the country, would like to commit aggression against Pakistan. Do you agree with this idea?

[Answer] Well, if this is how India feels, then it is all right. Let them attack and see and they will see the consequences for themselves.

[Question] A new consignment of F-16's due in June did not come in. Will you comment on this?

[Answer] Another consignment of F-16's is due shortly. The planes are supplied according to the money we pay. The fact is that F-16 planes are not so important. What really counts is the national sentiment, which constitutes the basis for the security of any nation. If that sentiment persists, then nobody can cast covetous eyes on us.

[Question] The Islamic Ideology Council recently recommended that since expenses incurred in maintaining a regular army are too great, the entire nation should be given military training. What do you think about this?

[Answer] I agree with the council's suggestion that the whole nation should be given military training. But at the same time we do need a professional army, too. There is not a single country in the world that does not have a professional army. Nations have to bear expenses for their own security.

[Question] You said in one of your statements that before holding elections the seat of power should be filled. Will you clarify what you mean by this ambiguous statement?

[Answer] This is not ambiguous at all. There is not a single country on the face of this earth where the seat of power is vacant before elections are held. The seat of power should always be filled before elections are held. If this is not done then a strange phenomenon will occur. As far as Gen Ziaul Haq is concerned, he is simply a caretaker, just like Yahyah Khan. Yahyah Khan was a caretaker. He could not make any decision about a transfer of power.

[Question] Are you in favor of holding presidential elections first?

[Answer] Yes, you may put it that way if you please. But before elections are held, it is absolutely essential that there be someone in the seat of power.

[Question] You suggested that the cabinet should propose the name of the presidential candidate. Will you clarify?

[Answer] That was just a suggestion. It was necessary that a similar line of action should have been taken. But in any event, the "caretaker" situation must end. I would like to mention here that while addressing the former assembly on the subject of the constitution, I had said that the president should not be turned merely into a 'white elephant' but should be vested with authority. If the president had authority then Bhutto would not have sent Maulvi Jan Mohammad to a Sind jail and would not have tried to get himself elected without opposition. Frankly, the late Bhutto wanted to give the impression that the seat of power was not vacant. If the president had the authority then he would not have had to take recourse to cheating to win the elections, because the president would have power as well as responsibilities. The result of making the president altogether powerless was that the prime minister became all powerful and thus became the focus of the nation's rebuke and anger.

[Question] There are many burglaries, robberies and other crimes taking place in Sind. Is there any special reason why this is happening in that province?

[Answer] Crimes are being committed all over the country. There is no special reason for crimes being committed in Sind. The Sind Government should try to improve the law-and-order situation in that province. If anyone thinks that there is insurgency in Sind, then that is a big mistake.

[Question] Why has the Sind Government failed to maintain law and order?

[Answer] I fully agree with you that the Sind Government should maintain law and order. If that government cannot control crime, then what kind of government is it?

[Question] There is a feeling that big land owners and landlords are behind criminal activities.

[Answer] I do not agree that the land owners are supporting crime. If this is true, then it is difficult to understand why the government is not taking any action. Landlords are not stronger than the government. The Sind Government, after all, is not weak and good-for-nothing.

[Question] Some circles believe that there is some connection between the crimes being committed in Sind and the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] campaign. What do you think about this?

[Answer] It is absolutely incorrect. It is a long time now since there has been peace and tranquility in that province.

[Question] Are arms and ammunitions seized in Sind of Soviet origin?

[Answer] Yes. Soviet arms are being sold here.

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